The FIFTH COLLECTION OF *CATO's* Political Letters IN THE LONDON JOURNAL.

I appeal to Heaven and Earth, whether I could have done more for the Benefit of the Publick in this its woful Diſtreſs? ——— What more agreeable to the Intereſt and the Wiſhes of our People at Home, what more conducive to our Reputation Abroad, or what more deſirable for the Security of the Univerſal Rights and Properties of all Men? What Falſhood have I utter'd, what Evil Counſel have I given, and do the Innocent accuſe me?

Vide Preface to Fourth Collection of *Cato's* Letters.

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The FIFTH COLLECTION OF *CATO*'s Political Letters IN THE LONDON JOURNAL.

To the Author of the London Journal.

SIR, *May* 20. 1721.

I Send you another excellent Letter of the great *Brutus*. They who say I forg'd the last, make me as great a Complement as ever was made to Man; since whoever could write that Letter, is, without reflecting on my Cotemporaries, certainly the greatest Man of the Age.

To the former Letter, I gave you an historical Introduction; I shall give you another to this.

Brutus and *Cassius*, after the Death of *Cæsar*, having left *Rome*, *Octavius*, *Cæsar's* Nephew, arrived there: He was no more than Nineteen Years old; and the first Thing of Note that happened to him,

was a Quarrel with *Mark Anthony*, who treated him like a Child, with Contempt, and indeed was grown inſupportable to all the World. *Cicero* and *Anthony* being then declared Enemies, *Octavius* was perſwaded by his Friends to throw himſelf into the Arms of *Cicero*. Hence began their Friendſhip, equally deſirable to both; *Cicero* governed the Senate, and *Octavius* had the Hearts of his Uncle's Soldiers, with great Treaſure to gain new Friends, and carry on new Deſigns. *Mark Anthony* was the common Enemy of both, and of the Republick, which he as outrageouſly attacked as *Cicero* warmly defended.

This Quarrel gave Occaſion to thoſe Orations of *Cicero*, called the *Philippicks*, which are eternal Monuments of his Love for his Country, as well as of the marvellous Eloquence of that great Man.

Cicero and *Octavius* ſucceeded: they got the better of *Mark Anthony*, and drove him out of *Rome*. But by his Intereſt and Activity, he ſoon gathered ſuch a Force, as he thought ſufficient to make himſelf Maſter of *Rome*; which therefore he prepar'd to attack and poſſeſs by downright Violence. But *Octavius* having levied, at his own Expence, an Army, compos'd moſtly of the Veteryan Troops of *Cæſar*, oppos'd the March of *Anthony*, and diverted that dreadful Storm from the City. *Cicero*, who had undertaken the Defence of *Octavius* from his firſt Arrival at *Rome*, and labour'd to fortify his Cauſe by the Authority of the Senate, was not wanting to extol this firſt Service of *Octavius* for the Republick. Hence extraordinary Honours were decreed him; that he ſhould be made Proprætor, and in that Quality, Commander of the Army; that a Recompence ſhould be given to his Troops; that he ſhould be received into the Number of the Senators, that he might, before he came of Age, demand all the other greateſt Dignities of the Commonwealth; and even that a Statue ſhould be erected to him.

In the mean Time *Anthony* thus repuls'd by *Octavius*, march'd into the *Ciſalpine Gaul*, to drive from thence *Decimus Brutus*, its Governour, a Kinſman of our

Brutus

Brutus, and one of the *Tyrannicides*. That Governour, being unprovided of Forces ſufficient to fight *Anthony*, retired into the City of *Modena*, a *Roman* Colony, and there ſhutting himſelf up, expected Succours from the Senate. *Anthony* in the interim lays Siege to the Place, in hopes that being once Maſter of that City, he would ſoon be ſo of *Gaul*, and afterwards be able to return into *Italy*, with a Power ſufficient to conquer *Rome*, where he meant to erect a Dominion as Abſolute as was that of *Cæſar*.

That Siege occaſioned frequent Meetings of the Senate, where, in fine, *Mark Anthony* was declar'd an Enemy to the Commonwealth, and both the Conſuls, *Hirtius* and *Panſa*, were ſent with an Army to relieve *Decimus Brutus*: With the Conſuls, *Octavius* was likewiſe ſent.

During all theſe Tranſactions, our *Brutus* and *Caſſius* having ſtaid ſome Time in *Italy*, after their leaving *Rome*, were now retir'd to their Governments, *Brutus* to *Macedonia*, and *Caſſius* to *Syria*, and both were levying Men, and forming Armies for the Defence of the Commonwealth.

As to *Cicero*, he was now in the Zenith of Power, and govern'd all Things at *Rome*: He particularly preſided in the Senate, as the moſt Ancient Conſular, during the Abſence of the Two Conſuls. In this Situation, he was wonderfully curious to know what was the Opinion of *Brutus* concerning himſelf and his Adminiſtration. It is certain *Brutus* had his higheſt Eſteem, and he thought that if he could procure the Eſteem of *Brutus*, it would be an eminent Proof of his own Virtue and Merit, as well as the moſt glorious Reward of that Virtue and Merit. *Brutus* had, in all his Letters, been very ſilent with him upon this Head. *Cicero* therefore makes uſe of *Atticus*, their common Friend, to ſift *Brutus*, and know his Sentiments. As ſoon therefore as it was known at *Rome*, that the Siege of *Modena* was rais'd, and *Anthony* defeated by the two Conſuls and *Octavius*; *Atticus* diſpatch'd the News to

Brutus,

Brutus, and in his Letter ſounded him about his Thoughts of *Cicero*.

The following Letter is a frank and open Anſwer to that *Atticus*. In it he juſtly condemns *Cicero*'s over-violent Hatred to *Mark Anthony*, which betray'd him into as unreaſonable an Affection and Deference for *Octavius*, his Champion, againſt *Anthony*. *Cicero* ſaw his Error at laſt, but ſaw it too late; the Power and Credit to which he had rais'd *Octavius*, coſt him his Life, and *Rome* her Liberty. *Cicero*, who was the Author of all the Greatneſs and Authority of *Octavius*, was by *Octavius* given up to to the Rage and Slaughter of *Mark Anthony*, againſt whom *Octavius* had been generouſly defended and ſupported by *Cicero*: And *Octavius* enſlav'd the Commonwealth, with thoſe very Arms which the Commonwealth had truſted with him for her Protection. So early had the the pious *Auguſtus* learn'd the Arts and Gratitude of an Abſolute Monarch.

I am, SIR,

Your humble Servant,

CATO.

BRUTUS to *ATTICUS*.

'YOU tell me, that *Cicero* wonders why, in any of my Letters, I have never diſcover'd to him 'my Sentiments concerning his Management and 'Adminiſtration at *Rome*: I therefore diſcover thoſe 'Sentiments to you, ſince you are ſo earneſt to know 'them.

'I know well the Sincerity and great Uprightneſs 'of *Cicero*'s Intentions: His Paſſion for the Good of 'the Commonwealth is indeed evident and remarkable. But prudent and wiſe as he is, he has given 'Proofs of a Zeal which is imprudent, and a Heart 'that is vain: I leave it to you to judge, which of 'theſe ſway'd him, when more forward than well 'adviſed, he drew upon him the Hatred of ſo terrible and powerful a Foe as *Mark Anthony*. This 'he meant for the Good of the Commonwealth; but

it has had a contrary Effect, ſince by it, inſtead of bridling, as he propoſed, the dangerous Power of *Octavius*, he has further animated his Ambition, and raiſed his Aims. Beſides, ſuch is the fatal Complaiſance of *Cicero* for that Man, that he cannot help ſpeaking of myſelf and the Patriots of my Country, with ſevere and bitter Language; which, however, returns double upon himſelf: If we have put one Man to death, he has put many. We killed *Cæſar*, and he the Aſſociates of *Cataline*. If therefore *Caſca*, who gave *Cæſar* the firſt Blow, is a Murtherer, as *Cicero*, to pleaſe *Octavius*, calls him; *Cicero* himſelf is one, and muſt confeſs himſelf one, and his great Enemy *Beſtia* is juſtify'd in calling him ſo.

'How! becauſe we have not the Ides of *March*, in which we diſpatched *Cæſar*, eternally in our Months, as *Cicero* has the Nones of *December*, in which he ſuppreſs'd the Conſpiracy of *Cataline*, and which he is for ever celebrating upon all Occaſions; does he take Advantage of our Modeſty and his own Vanity, and find from hence more Reaſon to blame a glorious Deed done by us for Mankind, than *Clodius* and *Beſtia* had to condemn, as they always did, his own ſevere Conduct when he was Conſul?

'*Cicero* every where boaſts that he ſuſtained the War againſt *Anthony*; and yet no Body ever ſaw *Cicero* out of a Gown, and Words were his Weapons. But let it be ſo, that he has defeated *Anthony*; where is the Advantage of the Victory, if, curing one Miſchief, it introduces a worſe? And what avails it to have extinguiſhed the Tyranny of *Anthony*, if he who has done it, erects another in its Room more terrible, by being more durable? And yet thus it will be if we ſuffer it. Theſe are Articles in the Conduct of *Cicero*, which ſhew that it is not the Tyrant nor the Tyranny that he fears, but it is only *Anthony* that he fears. If a Man will have a Tyrant, it is all one to me whether he be more or leſs outrageous; it is the Thing, it is the having a Tyrant, which I dread. That

'That *Cicero* is haſtening to ſet up a Tyrant, is 'plain from Actions as viſible as ſad. *Octavius* is all 'in all; a Triumph is decreed him; his Troops 'have Largeſſes given them; he is loaded with Flat-'teries, he is covered with Honours. What Shame 'for *Cicero* to behold all this, and his own abject Po-'ſture! His publick Behaviour, and the Speeches 'and Motions he makes in the Senate, all centring 'in his Maſter; are they not a Scandal to the great 'Figure of that great *Conſular*, and a Stain upon the 'renowned Name of *Cicero*?

'You will read this with Pain, as with Pain I 'write it; but it is a Task you have put upon me. 'Beſides, I know your Thoughts of our publick Af-'fairs, and that deſperate and extraordinary as they 'are, you think contrary to all Appearance, they 'may be remedied by Means that are ordinary. I 'do not however blame you, my dear *Atticus*; com-'fort your ſelf with Hope, it is agreeable to your 'Age, to the Sweetneſs of your Temper, and to your 'Regard for your Children; I do not therefore won-'der that you are indolent and ſanguine; which Diſ-'poſition of yours appears ſtill further to me from 'the Account my Friend *Flavius* gave me of what 'paſs'd between you and him.

'But to return to *Cicero*; pray where is the Dif-'ference between him and the ſervile *Salvidenus*? 'Could that baſe Retainer to *Octavius* ſtruggle for the 'Glory of his Maſter with more Labour and Zeal, 'than does *Cicero*? You will ſay perhaps, *Cicero* dreads 'ſtill the Remains of the Civil War. This is wild: 'Can any one dread a beaten Enemy, and yet ap-'prehend nothing from the formidable Power of one 'who commands a great Army, elevated by Victo-'ry; nor from the Raſhneſs of a young Man, 'who may conquer the Commonwealth by the Means 'which enabled him to conquer for it? Does *Cice-'ro* therefore make this mighty Court to *Octavius*, 'becauſe having given him ſo much, he thinks 'tis 'dangerous not to give him all? Oh the wretched 'Folly of Cowardice! thus to leſſen your own Se-

'curity

'curity by conſulting it; and to encreaſe Tyranny 'becauſe you fear it! Is it not better to have nothing 'at all to fear, than thus to compound for the De-'grees of Fear?

'The Truth is, we too much dread Poverty, Ba-'niſhment, and Death; and our Imagination ſwells 'their Terrors beyond Bounds. There are greater 'Evils than thoſe; and *Cicero* is miſtaken if he thinks 'there are not. And yet all goes well with him, if 'he is but humour'd, if his Opinion is regarded, if 'his Suits are granted, and if he is courted and ex-'tolled: He has no Quarrel to Servitude, provided 'it be accompanied with Honour and Luſtre, if 'there can be any ſuch Thing as Honour and Luſtre 'in this loweſt, this vileſt Lot of human Nature.

'*Octavius* may indeed call him Father *Cicero*, refer 'every Thing to his Counſel, ſooth him with Praiſes, 'and ſhew great Gratitude and Fondneſs towards 'him; while he loſes nothing by all this, which is 'only a fair Outſide and fine Words. Facts ſpeak 'the plaineſt Truth, and they effectually contradict 'the above Appearances. For, can there be a greater 'Inſult upon common Senſe, than for *Octavius* to take 'for a Father, that Man who is no longer in the 'Number of Free-men, or in the Intereſt of his 'Country?

'Whither then tend all theſe Compliances, all this 'Zeal of *Cicero* for *Octavius*? Why, only to this, 'That *Octavius* my be propitious to *Cicero*. In this 'little, worthleſs, ſhameful Point center all the Ac-'tions and Deſigns of the Great *Cicero*! Hence it is 'that I value no longer, in the Perſon of *Cicero*, thoſe 'Arts and Accompliſhments with which, doubtleſs, 'his Soul is vaſtly repleniſh'd. What is he the bet-'ter, himſelf, for ſo many excellent Precepts, ſo 'many noble Diſcourſes, every where found in his 'Works, concerning publick Liberty, true and ſolid 'Glory, the Contempt of Death, Exile, and Want? 'How much better does *Philippus* underſtand all 'thoſe fine Rules laid down by *Cicero*, than *Cicero* 'himſelf does; who pays more Homage to *Octavius*,

'than *Philippus*, who is Father-in-Law to *Octavius*, 'pays?

'Let *Cicero* therefore ceaſe glorying thus vainly in 'our Grief, which alſo ought to be his. For, to re-'peat what I have already ſaid, What Advantage 'can we draw from a Victory, which only tranſlates 'the pernicious Power of *Mark Anthony* to a new 'Uſurper? And yet by your Letter, I perceive that 'it is ſtill a Doubt whether *Mark Anthony* be intire-'ly defeated.

'After all, ſince *Cicero* can live a Dependant and 'a Slave, let him live a Dependant and a Slave. It 'ought not to be otherwiſe, if he can thus ſhame-'fully forget his reverend Age, the illuſtrious Ho-'nours he has born, and the memorable Parts he has 'perform'd.

'For my ſelf, while I live I will make War up-'on Tyranny; that is, upon all exorbitant Power 'that lifts Men above the Laws; nor can any Con-'dition of Servitude, however advantageous and al-'luring, divert me from this great, this worthy Pur-'poſe: nor could *Anthony* ſhake it, tho' he really 'were, what you ſay he is, a Man of Worth; a 'Character which contradicts my conſtant Opinion 'of him. The Judgment and Spirit of our Anceſtors 'is mine; they would not have their Father for 'their Tyrant, nor would I.

'All this Openneſs to you is the Reſult of my Af-'fection for you; nor could I have ſaid ſo much, 'had I not loved you as well as *Cicero* thinks he is 'beloved by *Octavius*. That all theſe ſad Truths af-'fect not you ſo much as they do me, is my Con-'cern; eſpecially ſince to an eminent Fondneſs for 'all your Friends, you have added a particular Fond-'for *Cicero*. As to my ſelf, I beg you to believe 'that my Affection for him is ſtill the ſame, tho' my 'Eſteem of him is greatly abated: Nor can I help it, 'it being impoſſible to judge ill or well of Men and 'Things, but according as they appear ill or well.

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To the Author of the London Journal.

SIR, *May* 27. 1721.

THE Study of human Nature has, ever ſince I could ſtudy any thing, been a principal Pleaſure and Employment of mine; a Study as uſeful as the Diſcoveries made by it are for the moſt part melancholly. It cannot but be irkſome to a good-natur'd Man, to find that there is nothing ſo terrible or miſchievous, but human Nature is capable of it; and yet he who knows little of human Nature, will never know much of the Affairs of the World, which every where derive their Motion and Situation from the Humours and Paſſions of Men.

It ſhews the violent Bent of human Nature to Evil, that even the Chriſtian Religion has not been able to tame the reſtleſs Appetites of Men, always puſhing them into Enormities and Violences, in direct Oppoſition to the Spirit and Declarations of the Goſpel, which commands us to *do unto all Men what we would have all Men do unto us.* The general Practice of the World is an open Contradiction and Contempt of this excellent, this divine Rule; which alone, were it obſerv'd, would reſtore Honeſty and Happineſs to Mankind, who, in their preſent State of Corruption, are for ever dealing treacherouſly or outrageouſly with one another, out of an ill-judg'd Fondneſs for themſelves.

Nay, the peaceable, the beneficent, the forgiving Chriſtian Religion, is made the Cauſe of perpetual Hatred, Animoſity, Quarrels, Violence, Devaſtation, and Oppreſſion; and the Apoſtles, in ſpight of all their Poverty, Diſintereſtedneſs, and Love of Mankind, are made to juſtify their pretended Succeſſors of the Church of *Rome*, in engroſſing to themſelves the Wealth and Power of the Earth; and in bringing Mankind under a Yoke of Servitude, more terrible, more extenſive, and more ſevere, than all the Arts and Deluſions of Paganiſm could ever bring them under: Of ſo much more Force with the corrupt World, are the deſtructive Villanies and Falſifications of Men, than

the benevolent and heavenly Precepts of Jeſus Chriſt.

The Truth is, and it is a melancholly Truth, that where human Laws do not tie up Mens Hands from Wickedneſs, Religion too ſeldom does; and the moſt certain Security we have againſt Violence, is the Security of Laws. Hence it is, that the making of Laws ſuppoſes all Men naturally wicked, and the ſureſt Mark of Virtue is the Obſervation of Laws that are virtuous: If therefore we would look for Virtue in a Nation, we muſt look for it in the Nature of their Government; the Name and Model of their Religion being no certain Symptom nor Cauſe of their Virtue. The *Italians* profeſs the Chriſtian Religion, and the *Turks* are all Infidels; are the *Italians* therefore more virtuous than the *Turks*? I believe no Body will ſay that they are; at leaſt thoſe of them that live under Abſolute Princes: On the contrary, it is certain, that as the Subjects of the great *Turk* are not more miſerable than thoſe of the *Pope*, ſo neither are they more wicked.

But to go on with our Conſiderations upon human Nature: Of all the Paſſions which belong to it, *Self-love* is the ſtrongeſt, and the Root of all the reſt; or, rather all the different Paſſions are only ſeveral Names for the ſeveral Operations of Self-love, "Self-love, ſays the Duke of *Rochefoucault*, is "the Love of one's ſelf, and of every thing elſe for "one's own Sake: It makes a Man the Idolater of "himſelf, and the Tyrant of others." He obſerves, that Man is a Mixture of Contrarieties, *imperious* and *ſupple*, *ſincere* and *falſe*, *fearful* and *bold*, *merciful* and *cruel*: He can ſacrifice every Pleaſure to the getting of Riches, and all his Riches to a Pleaſure: He is fond of his Preſervation, and yet ſometimes eager after his own Deſtruction: He can flatter thoſe he hates, and deſtroy thoſe he loves.

This is a Picture which that great Author gives us of Mankind; and they who ſay that he has given us a falſe one, ought to ſhew that they deſerve a better. I have ſometimes thought, that it was ſcarce

poſſible

poſſible to aſſert any thing concerning Mankind, be it ever ſo good, or ever ſo evil, but it will prove true. They are naturally Innocent, and yet fall naturally into the Practice of Vice; and the greateſt Inſtances of Virtue and Villany are to be found in one and the ſame Perſon; and perhaps one and the ſame Motive produces both. The Obſervance or Non-Obſervance of a few frivolous Cuſtoms, ſhall unite them in ſtrict Friendſhip and Confederacy, or ſet them a cutting one another's Throats.

They never regard one another as Men and rational Beings, and upon the Foot of their common Humanity; but are cemented or divided by the Force of Words and Habits —— Conſiderations that are a diſgrace to Reaſon! The not being born in the ſame Climate, or on this ſide ſuch a River, or ſuch a Mountain, or the not wearing the like Garments, or uttering the like Sounds, or having the ſame Thoughts or Taſte; are all ſo many Cauſes of intenſe Hatred, and ſometimes of Mortal War. Whatever Men think or do, eſpecially if they have found a good Name for it, be it ever ſo fooliſh or bad, is wiſeſt and beſt in their own Eyes: But this is not all; we will needs be plaguing our Neighbours, if they do not quit upon our Authority their own Thoughts and Practices for ours.

It fills me with Concern, when I conſider how Men uſe one another; and how wretchedly their Paſſions are employ'd: They ſcarce ever have proper Objects for their Paſſions; they will hate a Man for what he cannot help, and what does them no harm, and yet bleſs and pray for Villains that kill and oppreſs them. There never was ſuch a dreadful Tribunal under the Sun as the *Inquiſition*: A Tribunal againſt which the moſt Innocent is not ſafe, and to which the moſt virtuous Men are moſt expoſed; a Tribunal where all the Malice, all the ſagacious Cruelty, all the Bitterneſs, and all the Fury and Falſhood of Devils are exerted, and all the Tortures of Hell are imitated and practiſed; and yet this very Tribunal is ſo dear to the People, tho' it terrifies

rifies them, enſlaves them, and deſtroys them, that rather than part with it, they would part with all that is left them. Upon the Surrender of *Barcelona*, in the late War, the Inhabitants capitulated, that the *Inquiſition* ſhould not be taken from them. And even here in *England*, we may remember the time when Men have been knock'd down for ſaying that they had a Right to defend their Property by Force, when a Tyrant attempted to rob them of it againſt Law. To ſuch a Pitch of Stupidity and Diſtraction are People to be brought by thoſe who belie *Almighty God*, and falſify his *Word* to ſatiate worldly Pride; and ſuch Dupes and Furies are Men to one another!

Every Thing is ſo perverted and abus'd, and the beſt Things moſt, that a very wiſe Man had but too much Reaſon to ſay, that *Truth did not ſo much Good in the World, as the Appearance and Pretence of it did Evil.* Thus the ſaving of Mens Souls is ſo univerſally underſtood to be a great and glorious Bleſſing, that for the ſake of it Men have ſuffer'd, and do ſuffer, the higheſt Miſery and Bondage from the Impoſtors who pretend to give it in the dark Parts of World, which are by far the greateſt Parts of the World. And thus Civil Government is the Defence and Security of human Society; and yet Dr. *Prideaux* makes it a Doubt *whether the Benefit which the World receives from Government be ſufficient to make amends for the Calamities which it ſuffers from the Follies, Miſtakes, and Male-Adminiſtration of thoſe that manage it.* And thus to come Home to our ſelves; a Project to pay off the Narion's Debts was ſo tempting, ſo popular and plauſible, that almoſt every Body came into it; and yet ——— The Conſequences ſpeak themſelves.

The *Roman* Senate could flatter and adore a *Nero* and a *Caligula*; and the *Roman* Soldiers could butcher a *Piſo* and a *Pertinax*: It is hard to ſay which were the moſt guilty, the Senate while they worſhip'd Tyranny, or the Army while they deſtroy'd Virtue. So prone are Men to propagate pub-

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lick Deſtruction for perſonal Advantages and Security! I can never think without Horror and Trembling upon that diſmal, that bloody Maxim of *Philip* the 2d of *Spain*, that *he would rather be Maſter of a Kingdom ruined, miſerable, and quiet, than of a Kingdom rich, powerful and turbulent.* In purſuance of this Maxim he made his Kingdom a Deſart, by deſtroying and expelling the moſt induſtrious of its Inhabitants, the *Moors*: But *Philip* was very devout, and would frequently waſh a Pilgrim's Feet; that is, he was very civil and charitable to an idle religious Stroller, and a cruel Enemy to the general Happineſs of Mankind.

This puts me in mind of the Hiſtory of *John Baſilovitz*, Great Duke of *Muſcovy*. *No Hiſtory of his Time, but ſpeaks of his—— unheard of Cruelties exerciſed by him on all ſorts of Perſons through his whole Reign: They are ſo horrid that never any Tyrant did the like; and yet Biſhop* Paulus Jovius *gives him the Character of a good and devout Chriſtian, though he deſerves not to be numbered even amongſt Men: It is true, he would go often to Church, ſay the Service himſelf, ſing, and be preſent at Eccleſiaſtical Ceremonies, and execute the Functions of the Monks: But he abuſed both God and Man, and had no Sentiments of Humanity.* Ambaſſadors Travels, p. 73, 74.

What a Medley is here of Devotion and Cruelty in the ſame Men! Nor are theſe Examples ſingular. *Lewis* the 11th of *France* was a falſe, a wicked, and an oppreſſive Prince, and one of the greateſt Bigots that ever lived; and ſome of the greateſt Saints in the *Roman* Callendar were pernicious Villains, and bloody Monſters. No Sect of Bigots, when they are uppermoſt, are willing to tolerate another; and all ground their ungodly Severity upon their Zeal for Religion; tho' their want of Charity is a Demonſtration that they have no Religion. It is certain that without univerſal Charity and Forbearance, a Man cannot be a Chriſtian.

It is wonderful and affecting to behold how the Ideas of Good and Evil are confounded. The *Turks*

place

place great Devotion in releaſing Captive Birds from their Cages, in feeding indigent and mangey Dogs, and building Hoſpitals for them, and in paying a religious Reverence to Camels: But at the ſame time that they thus uſe Birds and Beaſts like Men and Chriſtians, they uſe Men and Chriſtians worſe than they do Beaſts; and with them *it is a lighter Offence to deny Bread to a poor Chriſtian, who is famiſhed in his Chains, than to the Dogs of the Street, which are fit for nothing but to breed Infection.* They will load a poor Chriſtian with Irons, and cover him with Stripes, and think they do well and religiouſly in it; and yet make it a Matter of Conſcience not to overload a Beaſt of Burthen.

In Popiſh Countries, in Caſes where Nature is left to it ſelf, as much Compaſſion is ſhewn for the Diſtreſſed as in other Places: Even Thieves, Robbers and Murderers, are accompanied to the Gallows or the Wheel, with Sighs and Tears, eſpecially of the tender Sex: But when an unhappy Innocent is going to be burned, *to be cruelly and ſlowly burned,* for his Sincerity and Piety in ſpeaking Truth, and reading the Bible himſelf, or teaching it to others; nothing is to be ſeen but a general Joy, nor to be heard, but loud Cries of Approbation and Conſent: and all Pity, all Sympathy is denied in an Inſtance which calls for the higheſt. Tell a *Spaniſh* Lady of a Popiſh Prieſt hang'd in *England* for Sedition or Murder, ſhe inſtantly falls into Tears and Agonies: Tell her of a Kinſman of hers burned for denying Tranſubſtantiation, ſhe gives Glory to God, and feels a ſenſible Joy.

And, in Proteſtant Countries, how many Men are there, who *cheat, ſtarve* and *oppreſs* all their Life long, to leave an Eſtate at their Death, to religious Uſes? As if Men were to be Rogues for God's ſake. I have heard of a Man, who having given half of his Eſtate to mend Highways, for the good of his Country, ſaid, that he would willingly give the other half, that *England* had ne'er a Ship, nor a Merchant, nor a Diſſenter from the Romiſh Church belonging to it: Strange Inconſiſtency! By one Act

of

of his, Two or Three Miles of Cauſeway were kept in good Repair; which was only a Kindneſs to Horſes Hoofs; and by another Act of his, he would have made all *England* miſerable and deſolate.

The *Hardſhips* and *Diſtreſſes* of this Year, ſhew too manifeſtly the *Rogueries* and *Depredations* of the laſt: Villany was let looſe amongſt us, and every Man endeavoured to entrap and ruin another, to enrich himſelf. Honeſty was brow-beaten and driven into Corners; Humanity was extinguiſhed; all Friendſhip was aboliſhed; and even the Diſtinction of Kindred and Ties of Blood were diſcarded: A raging Paſſion for immoderate Gain had made Men univerſally and intenſely hard-hearted: They were every where devouring one another. And yet the Directors and their Accomplices, who were the acting Inſtruments of all this outrageous Madneſs and Miſchief, ſet up for wonderful pious Perſons, while they were defying Almighty God, and plundering Men; and they ſet apart a Fund of Subſcriptions for charitable Uſes: that is, they mercileſly made a whole People Beggars, and charitably ſupported a few neceſſitous and worthleſs Favourites. I doubt not, but if the Villany had gone on with Succeſs, they would have had their Names handed down to Poſterity with Encomiums; as the Names of other publick Robbers have been! We have *Hiſtorians* and *ODE-MAKERS* now living, very proper for ſuch a Task. It is certain, that moſt People did, at one Time, believe the *Directors* to be *great* and *worthy Perſons*: And an honeſt Country Clergyman told me laſt Summer, upon the Road, that Sir *John* was an excellent publick-ſpirited Perſon, for that he had beautified his Chancel.

Upon the whole, we muſt not judge of one another by our fair Pretenſions and beſt Actions; ſince the worſt Men do ſome Good, and all Men make fine Profeſſions: But we muſt judge of Men by the Whole of their Conduct, and the Effects of it. Thorough Honeſty requires great and long Proof, ſince many a Man, long thought honeſt, has at length

proved a Knave. And it is from judging without Proof, or too little, or falſe Proof, that Mankind continue unhappy.

I am, SIR,
Your Humble Servant,
CATO.

To the Author of the London Journal

SIR, *June* 10. 1720.

I Deſign in this Letter to lay before the Town, ſome Thoughts upon *Libelling*; a ſort of Writing that hurts particular Perſons, without doing good to the Publick, and a ſort of Writing much complained of amongſt us at this Time, with *great Ground*, but not more than is pretended.

A *Libel* is not the leſs a Libel for being *true*. This may ſeem a Contradiction; but it is neither one in Law, or in common Senſe: There are ſome Truths not fit to be told; where, for Example, the Diſcovery of a ſmall Fault may do great Miſchief; or, where the Diſcovery of a great Fault can do but little Good, there ought to be *no Diſcovery* at all: And to make Faults where there are none, is ſtill worſe.

But this Doctrine only holds true as to private and perſonal Failings; and it is quite otherwiſe when the Crimes of Men come to affect the Publick. Nothing ought to be ſo dear to us as our Country, and nothing ought to come in competition with its Intereſts. Every Crime againſt the Publick is a great Crime, tho' there be ſome greater than others. Ignorance and Folly may be pleaded in Alleviation of private Offences; but when they come to be publick Offences, they loſe all Benefit of ſuch a Plea: We are then no longer to conſider only to what Cauſes they are owing, but what Evils they may produce; and here we ſhall readily find that *Folly* has overturned States, and private Ignorance been the Parent of publick Confuſion. The

The expoſing therefore of publick Wickedneſs, as it is a Duty which every Man owes to Truth and his Country, can never be a Libel in the Nature of Things; and they who call it ſo, make themſelves no Complement. He who is affronted at the reading of the Ten Commandments, would make the Decalogue a Libel if he durſt; but he tempts us at the ſame Time to form a Judgment of his Life and Morals not all to his Advantage: Whoever calls publick and neceſſary Truths Libels, does but apprize us of his *own Character*, and arm us with Caution againſt his Deſigns. I doubt not but if the late *Directors* had been above the Parliament, as they once thought themſelves, they would have called the *Votes of the Houſe of Commons* againſt them, *falſe and ſcandalous Libels*.

Machiavel ſays, *Calumny is pernicious, but Accuſation beneficial to a State*; and he ſhews Inſtances where States have ſuffered or periſh'd for not having, or for neglecting the Power to accuſe great Men who were Criminals, or thought to be ſo; and hence grew the Temptation and Cuſtom of ſlandering and reviling, which was the only Remedy the People had left them: So that the Evil of Calumny was owing to the want of Juſtice, and the People were more blameleſs than thoſe they reviled; who having forced them upon a Licentiouſneſs of Speech, did very unkindly chide and puniſh them for uſing it. Slander is certainly a very baſe and mean Thing: But ſurely it cannot be more pernicious to *calumniate even good Men*, than not to be able to *accuſe ill ones*.

I have long thought, that the World are very much miſtaken in their Idea and Diſtinction of *Libels*. It has been hitherto generally underſtood, that there were no other Libels but thoſe againſt Magiſtrates, and thoſe againſt private Men: Now, to me there ſeems to be a third ſort of Libels, full as deſtructive as any of the former can poſſibly be; I mean, Libels againſt the People. It was otherwiſe at *Athens* and *Rome*, where tho' particular Men, and even great

Men, were often treated with much Freedom and Severity, when they deſerved it; yet the People, the Body of the People, were ſpoken of with the utmoſt Regard and Reverence. *The ſacred Privileges of the People, The inviolable Majeſty of the People, The awful Authority of the People, and the unappealable Judgment of the People*, were Phraſes common in theſe wiſe, great and free Cities. Other Modes of Speech are ſince grown faſhionable, and *Popular Madneſs* is now almoſt proverbial: But this Madneſs of theirs, whenever it happens, is derived from external Cauſes. *Oppreſſion*, they ſay, *will make a wiſe Man mad*, and *Deluſion* has not leſs Force: But where there are neither Oppreſſors nor Impoſtors, the Judgment of the People in the Buſineſs of Property, *the Preſervation of which is the principal Buſineſs of Government*, does rarely err. Perhaps they are deſtitute of Grimace, Myſtery, Refinements, Shrugs, Diſſimulation, and Reſerve, and the other Accompliſhments of Courtiers: But as theſe are only Masks to conceal the Abſence of Honeſty and Senſe, the People, who poſſeſs as they do the *Subſtance*, have reaſon to deſpiſe ſuch inſipid and contemptible Shadows.

Machiavel, in the Chapter where he proves that a Multitude is wiſer and more conſtant than a Prince, complains, that the Credit the People ſhould be in, declines daily; "For ſays he, *every Man has "Liberty to ſpeak what he pleaſes againſt them; but a-"gainſt a Prince no Man can talk without a thouſand Ap-"prehenſions and Dangers.*" I have indeed often wonder'd that the inveighing againſt the Intereſt of the People, and calling their Liberties in Queſtion, as has been, and is commonly done amongſt us by old Knaves aud young Fools, has never been made an expreſs Crime.

I muſt own, I know not what Treaſon is, if ſapping and betraying the Liberties of a People be not Treaſon in the eternal and original Nature of Things: Let it be remembered for whoſe ſake Government is, or could be appointed; and then let it be conſidered, who are more to be regarded, the

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Governours or the Governed. They indeed owe one another mutual Duties; but if there are any Tranſgreſſions committed, the Side that is moſt obliged ought doubtleſs to bear the moſt; and yet it is ſo far otherwiſe, that almoſt all over the Earth, the People, for One Injury they do their Governours, receive Ten Thouſand from them: Nay, in ſome Countries, it is made Death and Damnation not to bear all the Oppreſſions and Cruelties, which Men made wanton by Power inflict upon thoſe that gave it them.

The Truth is, if the People are ſuffered to keep their own, it is the moſt they deſire: But even this is a Happineſs which in a few Places falls to their Lot; they are frequently robb'd by thoſe whom they pay to protect them. I know it is a general Charge againſt the People, that they are turbulent, reſtleſs, fickle, and unruly: Than which there can be nothing more untrue; for they are only ſo, where they are made ſo. As to their being fickle, it is ſo falſe, that on the contrary, they have almoſt ever a ſtrong Bent to received Cuſtoms, and as ſtrong a Partiality to Names and Families that they have been uſed to: And as to their being turbulent, it is as falſe; ſince there is ſcarce an Example in an hundred Years of any People's giving Governours any Uneaſineſs, till their Governours had made them uneaſy: Nay, for the moſt part they bear many Evils without returning one, and ſeldom throw off their Burthens ſo long as they can ſtand under them.

But intending to handle this Subject more at large in another Letter, I return more directly to the Buſineſs of Libels.

As to Libels againſt Government, like all others, they are always *baſe* and *unlawful*, and often *miſchievous*; eſpecially when Governments are impudently charged with Actions and Deſigns of which they are *not guilty*. It is certain that we ought not to enter into the private Vices or Weakneſſes of Governours, any further than their private Vices enter into

into their publick Adminiſtration; and when they do, it will be impoſſible to ſtop People's Mouth's: They will be provoked, and ſhew that they are ſo, in ſpight of *Art* and *Threats*; if they ſuffer Hardſhips and Woe from the private Gratifications of their Superiors, from whom they have a Right to expect Eaſe and Happineſs, and if they are diſappointed, they will be apt to deal very freely with their Characters.

In Truth, moſt Libels are purely perſonal; they fly at *Men* rather than *Things*; which Proceeding is as injudicious as it is unmanly. It is mean to be quarreling with Faces, Names, and private Pleaſures; Things perfectly indifferent to the World, or Things out of a Man's own Power; and 'tis ſilly, as it ſhews thoſe we attack, that we attack them not for what they *do*, but for what they *are*: And this is to provoke them without mending them. All this therefore is *Libelling*; an Offence againſt which the Laws of almoſt every Country, and particularly of our own, have furniſhed a Remedy in proportion to the Conſequence and Quality of the Perſon offended. And it is as juſt that Reputation ſhould be defended by Law as that Property ſhould.

The Praiſe of well-doing is the higheſt Reward that worthy and diſintereſted Men aim at, and it is villainous and ungrateful to rob them of it; and thoſe that do it are Libellers and Slanderers. On the other Hand, while Cenſure and Infamy attend evil Doers, it will be ſome Reſtraint, if not upon them, yet upon others, from following their Example: But if Men are ever ſuffered to do what they pleaſe without hearing of it, or being accountable for it, *Liberty* and *Law* will be loſt, tho' their Names may remain. And whether acting wickedly with Impunity, or ſpeaking falſely with Impunity, are likely to do moſt hurt to human Society and the Peace of the World, I leave all the World to judge: Common Equity ſays they both ought to be puniſhed, tho' not both alike.

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All Libels, the higher they aim, the more Malignity they acquire; and therefore when they ſtrike at the Perſon of the Prince, the Meaſure of their Guilt is compleat. The Office of a Prince is to defend his People and their Properties; an excellent and a painful Office; which, where it is executed with Honeſty and Diligence, deſerves the higheſt Applauſe and Reward; and whoever vilifies and traduces him, is an Enemy to Society and to Mankind, and will be puniſhed with the Conſent of all who love either. And yet it is ſcarce poſſible in a free Country to puniſh by a general Law any *Libel* ſo much as it deſerves; ſince ſuch a Law, conſiſting of ſo many Branches, and of ſuch vaſt Latitude, would make all Writing whatſoever, how innocent ſoever, and even all Speaking, *unſafe*. Hence it is that in *Turkey*, tho' Printing were permitted, it would be of no uſe, becauſe no Body would dare to make any uſe of it.

As long as there are ſuch Things as Printing and Writing, there will be Libels: It is an Evil ariſing out of a much greater Good; and as to thoſe who are for locking up the Preſs, becauſe it produces Monſters, they ought to conſider that ſo do the *Sun* and the *Nile*; and that it is ſomething better for the World to bear ſome particular Inconveniencies ariſing from general Bleſſings, than to be wholly deprived of *Fire* and *Water*.

Of all ſorts of *Libels*, ſcurrilous ones are certainly the moſt harmleſs and contemptible: Even Truth ſuffers by ill Manners; and ill Manners prevent the Effect of Lyes: The Letter in the *Saturday's Poſt* of the 27th paſt does, I think, exceed all the Scurrilities I have either heard, or ſeen, from the Preſs or the Pulpit. The Author of it muſt ſurely be mad: He talks as if Diſtraction were in his Head, and a Firebrand in his Hand; and nothing can be more falſe, than the Inſinuations he makes, and the ugly Reſemblances he would draw. The Paper is a Heap of Falſhood and Treaſon, delivered in the Stile and Spirit of *Billingſgate*; and indeed moſt of the

he Enemies to his Majeſty's Perſon, Title and Government, have got the Faculty of Writing and Talking, as if they had their Education in that Quarter.

However, as bad as that Letter is, (and, I think, there cannot be a worſe) Occaſion will never be taken from ſcurrilous and traiterous Writing, to deſtroy the End of Writing. We know that in all Times, there have been Men, lying upon the Watch to ſtifle Liberty, under a Pretence of ſuppreſſing Libels; like the late King *James*, who having Occaſion for an Army to ſuppreſs *Monmouth*'s Rebellion, would needs keep it up afterwards; becauſe, forſooth, other Rebellions might happen, for which he was reſolved to give Cauſe.

I muſt own, I would rather many Libels ſhould eſcape, than the Liberty of the Preſs ſhould be infring'd; and yet no Man in *England* thinks worſe of Libels than I do: Eſpecially ſuch as bid open Defiance to the preſent Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment.

Corrupt Men, who have given Occaſion for Reproach, by their baſe and dark Practices with the late *Directors*, being afraid of *Truths* that affect them from the Preſs, may be deſirous of ſhutting it up: But honeſt Men, with clear Reputations, which they know foul Mouths cannot hurt, will always be for preſerving it open, as a ſure Sign of Liberty, and a Cauſe of it.

The beſt way to eſcape the Virulence of Libels, is not to deſerve them; but as Innocence it ſelf is not ſecure againſt the Malignity of evil Tongues, it is alſo neceſſary to puniſh them. However, it does not follow that the Preſs is to be ſunk for the Errors of the Preſs. No Body was ever yet ſo ridiculous to propoſe a Law for reſtraining People from travelling upon the Highway, becauſe ſome who uſed the Highway committed Robberies.

It is commonly ſaid, that no Nation in the World would ſuffer ſuch Papers to come Abroad as *England* ſuffers; which is only ſaying, that no Nation in the World enjoys the LIBERTY which *England*

gland enjoys. In Countries where there is no Liberty, there can be no ill Effects of it. No Body is puniſh'd at *Conſtantinople* for *Libelling*. Nor is there any Diſtinction there between the Liberty of the Preſs, and the Licentiouſneſs of the Preſs; a *Diſtinction* ever to be obſerved by honeſt Men and Freemen.

I am, SIR,

Your humble Servant,

CATO.

To the Author of the London Journal.

SIR, *June* 17. 1721.

CONSIDERING what ſort of a Creature Man is, it is ſcarce poſſible to put him under too many Reſtraints, when he is poſſeſs'd of great Power: He may poſſibly uſe it well; but they act moſt prudently, who, ſuppoſing that he would uſe it ill, do incloſe him within certain Bounds, and make it terrible to him to exceed them.

Men that are above all Fear, ſoon grow above all Shame. *Rupto pudore & metu, ſuo tantum ingenio utebatur*, ſays *Tacitus* of *Tiberius*. Even *Nero* had liv'd a great while inoffenſively, and reigned virtuouſly; but finding at laſt, that he might do what he would, he let looſe his Appetite for Blood, and committed ſuch mighty, ſuch monſtrous, ſuch unnatural Slaughters and Outrages, as none but a Heart bent on the Study of Cruelty could have deviſed. The good Councils of *Seneca* and *Burrhus* were, for ſome Time, Checks upon his Wolfiſh Nature; and doubtleſs he apprehended, that if he made direct and downright War upon his People, they would uſe Reſiſtance and make Reprizals: But diſcovering, by degrees, that they would bear any thing, and his Soldiers would execute every thing, he grew into an open Defiance with Mankind, and daily and wantonly wallowed in their Blood: Having no o-

ther Rival, he ſeemed to rival himſelf, and every Day's Wickedneſs was blacker than another.

And yet *Nero* was not the worſt of all Men: There have been Thouſands as bad as he, and only wanted the ſame Opportunity to ſhew it. And there actually have been many Princes in the World, who have ſhed more Blood, and done more Miſchief to Mankind, than *Nero* did. I could inſtance in a late One, who deſtroyed more Lives than ever *Nero* deſtroyed, perhaps an Hundred to One. It makes no Difference that *Nero* committed Butcheries out of Cruelty, and the other only *for his Glory*; however the World may be deceived by the Change of Names into an Abhorrence of the One, and an Admiration for the Other: It is all one to a Nation, when they are to be ſlaughtered, whether they be ſlaughtered by the Hangman, or by the Dragoons, in Priſon or in the Field; nor is Ambition better than Cruelty, when it begets Miſchiefs as great.

It is nothing ſtrange, that Men, who think themſelves unaccountable, ſhould act unaccountably, and that all Men would be unaccountable if they could; even thoſe who have done nothing to diſpleaſe, do not know but ſome Time or other they may; and no Man cares to be at the intire Mercy of another. Hence it is, that if every Man had his Will, all Men would exerciſe Dominion, and no Man would ſuffer it; it is therefore owing more to the Neceſſities of Men, than to their Inclinations, that they have put themſelves under the Reſtraint of Laws, and appointed certain Perſons, called Magiſtrates, to execute them; otherwiſe they would never be executed, ſcarce any Man having ſuch a Degree of Virtue as willingly to execute the Laws upon himſelf; but on the contrary, moſt Men thinking them a Grievance, when they come to meddle with themſelves and their Property. *Suarum legum auctor & everſor*, was the Character of *Pompey*; he made Laws when they ſuited his Occaſions, and broke them when they thwarted his Will: And it is the Character of almoſt every Man poſſeſs'd of

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Pompey's Power: they intend them for a Security to themſelves, and for a Terrour to others. This ſhews the Diſtruſt that Men have of Men; and this made a great Philoſopher call the *State of Nature, a State of War*; which Definition is true in a reſtrained Senſe, ſince human Societies and human Laws are the Effect of Neceſſity and Experience: Whereas were all Men left to the boundleſs Liberty they claim from Nature, every Man would be interfering and quarrelling with another; every Man would be plundering the Acquiſitions of another; the Labour of one Man would be the Property of another; Weakneſs would be the Prey of Force; and one Man's Induſtry would be the Cauſe of another Man's Idleneſs.

Hence grew the Neceſſity of Government, which was the mutual Contract of a Number of Men, agreeing upon certain Terms of Union and Society, and putting themſelves under Penalties, if they violated theſe Terms, which were call'd Laws, and put into the Hands of one or more Men to execute. And thus Men quitted Part of their Natural Liberty to acquire Civil Security: But frequently the Remedy prov'd worſe than the Diſeaſe, and human Societies had often no Enemies ſo great as their own Magiſtrates; who, wherever they were truſted with too much Power, always abus'd it, and grew miſchievous to thoſe who made them what they were. *Rome*, while ſhe was free, (that is, while ſhe kept her Magiſtrates within due Bounds) could defend herſelf againſt all the World, and conquer it; but being enſlaved, (that is, her Magiſtrates having broke their Bounds) ſhe could not defend her ſelf againſt her own ſingle Tyrants; nor could they defend her againſt her foreign Foes and Invaders; for by their Madneſs and Cruelties they had deſtroy'd her Virtue and Spirit, and exhauſted her Strength. This ſhews that thoſe Magiſtrates, that are at abſolute Defiance with a Nation, either cannot ſubſiſt long, or will not ſuffer the Nation to ſubſiſt long; and that mighty Traytors, rather than fall themſelves, will pull down their Country.

What a dreadful Spirit muſt that Man poſſeſs, who can put a private Appetite in ballance againſt the Univerſal Good of his Country, and of Mankind! *Alexander* and *Cæſar* were that ſort of Men; they would ſet the World on Fire and ſpill its Blood, rather than not govern it. *Caligula* knew that he was hated, and deſerved to be hated, but it did not mend him. *Oderint dum metuam*: All the Monſter aim'd at, was to be great and terrible. Moſt of theſe Tyrants died as became them, and as they had reign'd, by Violence; but that did not mend their Succeſſors, who generally earn'd the Fate of thoſe that went before them, before they were warm in their Place. *Invenit etiam Æmulos infelix nequitia: Quid ſi floreat vigeatque?* "If unfortunate "Villany thus finds Rivals; what ſhall we ſay, "when it exalts its Head and proſpers"?

There is no Evil under the Sun but what is to be dreaded from Men, who may do what they pleaſe with Impunity: They ſeldom or never ſtop at certain Degrees of Miſchief, when they have Power to go further, but hurry on from Wickedneſs to Wickedneſs as far and as faſt as human Malice can prompt human Power. *Ubi ſemel recto de erratum eſt, in præceps pervenitur —— a rectis in vitia, a vitiis in prava, a pravis in præcipitia*, ſays a *Roman* Hiſtorian; who in this ſpeaks Truth, tho' in other Inſtances he tells many Lies; I mean that baſe Flatterer of Power, *Velleius Paterculus*. So that when we ſee any great Miſchief committed with Safety, we may juſtly apprehend Miſchiefs ſtill greater.

The World is govern'd by Men, and Men by their Paſſions; which being boundleſs and inſatiable, are always terrible when they are not controuled: Who was ever ſatiated with Riches, or ſurfeited with Power, or tired with Honours? There is a Tradition concerning *Alexander*, that having penetrated to the Eaſtern Ocean, and ravaged as much of this World as he knew, he wept that there was never another World for him to conquer. This, whether true or no, ſhews the Spirit of the Man,

and

and indeed of human Nature, whoſe Appetites are infinite.

People are ruined by their Ignorance in human Nature, which Ignorance leads them to Credulity, and too great a Confidence in particular Men. They fondly imagine that He, who poſſeſſing a great deal by their Favour, owes them great Gratitude, and all good Offices, will therefore return their Kindneſs: But, alas, how often are they miſtaken in their Favourites and Truſtees; who the more they have given them, are often the more incited to take All, and to return Deſtruction for generous Uſage: The common People generally think that great Men have great Minds, and ſcorn baſe Actions; which Judgment is ſo falſe, that the baſeſt and worſt of all Actions have been done by great Men; perhaps they have not picked private Pockets, but they have done worſe, they have often diſturb'd, deceived and pillag'd the World: And he who is capable of the higheſt Miſchief, is capable of the meaneſt: He who plunders a Country of a Million of Money, would in ſuitable Circumſtances ſteal a Silver Spoon; and a Conqueror, who ſteals, and pillages a Kingdom, would, in an humbler Fortune, rifle a Portmanteau, or rob an Orchard.

Political Jealouſy, therefore, in the People, is a neceſſary and laudable Paſſion. But in a chief Magiſtrate, a Jealouſy of his People is not ſo juſtifiable, their Ambition being only to preſerve themſelves; whereas it is natural for Power to be ſtriving to enlarge it ſelf, and to be encroaching upon thoſe that have none. The moſt laudable Jealouſy of a Magiſtrate is to be jealous *for* his People; which will ſhew that he loves them, and has us'd them well: But to be jealous *of* them, would denote that he has evil Deſigns againſt them, and has us'd them ill. The People's Jealouſy tends to preſerve Liberty; and the Prince's to deſtroy it. *Venice* is a glorious Inſtance of the former, and ſo is *England*; and all Nations who have loſt their Liberty are melancholly Proofs of the later.

Power

Power is naturally active, vigilant and diſtruſtful; which Qualities in it puſh it upon all Means and Expedients to fortify it ſelf, and upon deſtroying all Oppoſition, and even all Seeds of Oppoſition, and make it reſtleſs as long as any thing ſtands in its Way. It would do what it pleaſes and have no Check. Now, becauſe Liberty chaſtiſes and ſhortens Power, therefore Power would extinguiſh Liberty; and conſequently Liberty has too much Cauſe to be exceeding jealous, and always upon her Defence. Power has many Advantages over her; it has generally numerous Guards, many Creatures, and much Treaſure; beſides, it has more Craft and Experience, and leſs Honeſty and Innocence: And whereas Power can, and for the moſt Part does ſubſiſt where Liberty is not, Liberty cannot ſubſiſt without Power; ſo that ſhe has, as it were, the Enemy always at her Gates.

Some have ſaid, that Magiſtrates, being accountable to none but God, ought to know no other Reſtraint. But this Reaſoning is as frivolous as it is wicked; for no good Man cares how many Puniſhments and Penalties lie in his Way to an Offence which he does not intend to commit: A Man who does not mean to commit Murther, is not ſorry that Murther is puniſh'd with Death. And as to wicked Men, their being accountable to God, whom they do not fear, is no Security to us againſt their Folly and Malice; and to ſay that we ought to have no Security againſt them, is to inſult common Senſe, and give the Lie to the firſt Law of Nature, that of Self-preſervation. Human Reaſon ſays, that there is no Obedience, no Regard due to thoſe Rulers who govern by no Rule but their Luſt: Such Men are no Rulers; they are Outlaws, who, being at Defiance with God and Man, are protected by no Law of God, or of Reaſon. By what Precept, moral or divine, are we forbid to kill a Wolf, or burn an infected Ship? Is it unlawful to prevent Wickedneſs and Miſery, and to reſiſt the Authors of them?

them? Are Crimes ſanctify'd by their Greatneſs? And is he who robs a Country, and murthers Ten Thouſand, leſs a Criminal, than he who ſteals ſingle Guineas, and takes away ſingle Lives? Is there any Sin in preventing, and reſtraining, or reſiſting the greateſt Sin that can be committed, namely, that of oppreſſing and deſtroying Mankind by wholeſale? Sure there never were ſuch open, ſuch ſhameleſs, ſuch ſelfiſh Impoſtors, as the Advocates for lawleſs Power. It is a damnable Sin to oppreſs them; and yet it is a damnable Sin to oppoſe them when they oppreſs, or gain by the Oppreſſion of others. When they are hurt themſelves ever ſo little, or but think themſelves hurt, they are the loudeſt of all Men in their Complaints, and the moſt outrageous in their Behaviour: But when others are plundered, oppreſs'd and butcher'd, Complaints are Sedition; and to ſeek Redreſs is Damnation. Is not this to be the Authors of all Wickedneſs and Falſhood?

To conclude; Power, without Controul, appertains to God alone; and no Man ought to be truſted with what no Man is equal to. In Truth, there are ſo many Paſſions, and Inconſiſtencies, and ſo much Selfiſhneſs, belonging to human Nature, that we can ſcarce be too much upon our Guard againſt each other. The only Security we can have that Men will be Honeſt, is to make it their Intereſt to be Honeſt; and the beſt Defence we can have againſt their being Knaves, is to make it terrible to them to be Knaves. As there are many Men wicked in ſome Stations, who would be innocent in others; the beſt Way is to make Wickedneſs unſafe in any Station.

I am, *SIR*,

Your Humble Servant,

CATO.

P. S. This Letter is the Sequel of that upon Human Nature; and Both are intended for an Introduction to a Paper, I intend to write one Time or other,

other, upon the Reſtraints which all wiſe Nations put upon their Magiſtrates.

To the Author of the London Journal.

SIR, *June* 24. 1721.

FLATTERY is a poyſonous and pernicious Weed, which grows and prevails every where, but moſt where it does moſt harm; I mean in Courts. If few dare ſpeak the Truth to their Superiors, how ſhall he who has no Superiors ever come to know the Truth? Perhaps there never was an Inſtance in the World, where a Prince was told the ſincere Truth in every Thing which concerned him to know, by any Servant of his. Truth is of a plain unalterable Nature, and cannot be moulded into faſhionable Shapes; *Truth* is therefore unfit to be a Courtier: But *Falſhood*, being the Creature of the Imagination, is capable of bearing all modiſh and pleaſing Forms; Falſhood is therefore an agreeable Gueſt in Palaces. To illuſtrate this, endleſs Examples might be brought, but unfortunate Princes are the moſt pregnant Examples. *Galba*, when he had loſt all, and nothing remained to him but his Life, which he was alſo ſoon to looſe, had not one about him to tell him his Condition and Danger; ſo cruelly diſhoneſt were his Servants. Their Flattery prevented the Means of his Preſervation; they therefore were the firſt Murtherers of their Maſter.

Nothing more is neceſſary in order to be flatter'd, than to be uppermoſt, *Galba* was hated for his Avarice, and deſpis'd for his Age and Severity; and yet in Complaiſance to an Emperor, Multitudes of People, and particularly of Senators and Gentlemen, addreſſed him to put *Otho* to death, and to baniſh all his Accomplices: And a Rumour being ſpread that *Otho* was ſlain, the ſame Sett of Flatterers run to the Palace with noiſy Congratulations, and

deceitfully complained that Fate had ſnatched the Uſurper from their Vengeance.

What Marks were here of Loyalty to *Galba*'s Perſon, and of Zeal and Firmneſs to his Intereſt; and yet in ſo ſmall a ſpace as two Hours after, *Otho*'s Power having prevailed in *Rome*, *Otho* had their Hearts and their Acclamations in his Turn, and *Galba*'s Death was demanded of him with the ſame Importunity, that the Death of *Otho* had been demanded of *Galba*, and by the ſame Men.

A melancholly Leſſon of the vile Fraudulency of Flatterers, and of the Blindneſs of Princes who truſt in them. Even *Galba*, who was thought Proof againſt Flatterers (*adverſus blandientes incorruptus*) was deceived by them.

The Sieur *Amelot de la Houſſaye*, from whom many of theſe Obſervations are taken, ſays truly, that moſt Princes are better armed againſt Fear than againſt Flattery: Terrors animate them, and Threats whet their Courage; but Flattery ſoftens their Minds and corrupts their Manners; it makes them negligent and idle, and forget their Duty; *Corrupta mens aſſiduis adulationibus*, ſays *Tacitus* of *Domitian*: Beſides, miſtaking Flattery for Complaiſance, (which is a Sign of Affection) they think that thoſe who flatter them love them, and from that Deluſion come to to truſt and employ their moſt dangerous Enemies. He further ſays, that *Philip* the 2d of *Spain* was wont to interrupt thoſe who went about to flatter him, by ſaying to them roundly, *Ceaſe trifling, and tell me what it concerns me to know*; Words worthy of all Princes, who are never entertained by their Flatterers but with Things uſeleſs or pernicious. If Princes never heard any Thing but what they ought to know, they would never hear Flatterers.

Flattery is a falſe and ſelfiſh Thing, begot only by Fear or Favour; and having it ſelf only in view, it obſerves no Rule of Equity or Merit, but praiſes and calumniates, juſt according as Men are exalted or depreſſed. *Mezeray* tells us, that as long as *Henry* the 3d of *France* built magnificent Monaſteries,

and plunged himſelf into Monkiſh Devotions, ill becoming his Dignity; the *Monks* rever'd him as a Saint, and called him one: But no ſooner was the religious and ſeditious League form'd againſt him, but theſe Godly Ingrates loaded him with all the Reproaches and ill Names they could deviſe; Tyrant, Hypocrite, Murtherer, and abominable were the Titles they gave him; and at laſt they butchered him as a Heretick: So eaſily can Flatterers make one and the ſame Man a God or Devil; and ſo true is it that Flatterers love no Man, and only court the Fortunes of Men. Flattery is venal, and always goes to the beſt Bidder; and it is ſervile, and always crouches moſt to thoſe who are uppermoſt, let them be what they will: *Adulationi fædum Crimen Servitutis ineſt.* Moſt of the Evil that Princes commit, come from the Leſſons and Complaiſance of Flatterers, and to ſuch moſt Princes have owed their Ruin; few Princes would have done what many of them did, if their falſe Friends had not told them they might do what they would: We have had many Inſtances of this at home, and there have been more abroad. It would be a great Advantage to Princes if they would remember that there never was a Prince in the World but was flattered, and never a Prince but was hurt by Flattery, and many utterly undone by it. It has made good Princes bad, and bad worſe: By Flattery they have been brought to think themſelves more than Men, and to act worſe than Brutes; and in fine, to live and die as Beaſts of Prey live and die, in Blood. Their Flatterers having made them worſe than Men, adored them like Gods: But as *Pliny* ſays, *Principum exitus docuit ni a diis quidem amari niſi quos homines ament.*

Their Buſineſs is to tell their great Patron what pleaſes him, tho' it deſtroys him; and when they have deprived him of all his Friends, his Innocence, his Felicity, and his Poſſeſſions, they leave him too; or having ruined his Fortune, they take away his Life, which is their laſt and beſt Civility; for Flattery endsever in Ingratitude, and often in Treaſon;

and

and for Princes to be often diſtreſſed by thoſe whom they have obliged moſt, is nothing new.

Flattery is always great in proportion as its Patrons are bad. And therefore *Pliny* obſerves, that thoſe Emperors who were moſt hated, were likewiſe moſt flatter'd; for he ſays 'that Diſſimulation is more ingenious and artful than Sincerity, and Slavery than Liberty, and Fear than Love". Hence Flattery is a Sign of Servitude, and inconſiſtent with Equality, and with Liberty, the Off-ſpring of Equality. It is indeed one of the Purpoſes of Flattery to make Men worſe; it gains by Corruption, and lives upon Credulity, Folly and Vice. It is particularly at perpetual Enmity with Truth; and Flatterers are like Liars, not to be believed even when they ſpeak Truth. I have ſomewhere heard Flatterers compared to Thieves, who break into Houſes by Night; the firſt Thing they do is to extinguiſh the Lights: So Flatterers when they have beſet a Prince, or any other great Man, never fail to keep far from him all Light and Information.

Flattery is cruel, and gives bloody Counſels; and Flatterers are conſtant and mercileſs Calumniators: Every Word they do not like, is a Libel; every Action that diſpleaſes them, is Treaſon or Sedition: Where there are no Faults, they create them: The Crimes, objected to the honeſt and excellent *Thraſea Petus*, were ſuch as theſe; namely, " That he had never applauded *Nero*, nor encouraged others to applaud him; that when the Senate were running into all the Extravagancies of Flattery, he would not be preſent, and therefore had not been in it for three Years; that he had never ſacrificed for *Nero*'s charming Voice; that he would never own Madam *Poppæa* for a Goddeſs, ſhe who had been *Nero*'s Miſtreſs, and was then his Wife; that he would not vote that a Gentleman who had made Satyrical Verſes upon *Nero* ſhould be put to Death, tho' he condemn'd the Man and his Libel, but he contended that no Law made the Offence Capital; That *they could not without Scandal, and the Impu-*

" *tation of Cruelty, puniſh with Death, an Offence for* " *which the Laws had already provided a Puniſhment,* " *that was milder.*" Theſe were the honourable and virtuous Crimes of that great good Man; but they were then High Treaſon, and coſt him his Life. Memorable are the Words of *Philip de Comines*, ſpeaking of Court Flatterers: 'If a Six-penny Tax 'is to be raiſed, they cry it ought by all Means to 'be a Twelve-penny one. If the Prince is offended 'with any Man, they are directly for hanging him. 'In other Inſtances they maintain the ſame Charac-'ter: Above all Things they adviſe their Maſter to 'make himſelf terrible; as they themſelves are 'Proud, Fierce, and Over-bearing, in hopes to be 'dreaded by that Means, as if Authority and Place 'were their Inheritance'.

As all honeſt Truths affect ſuch Men, whatever is ſaid againſt ill Men, they conſtrue to be ſaid againſt them: And even when they are prais'd, they cry they are abus'd, and that ſuch Praiſe is rank Irony: Now all this is very impolitick: Good Men neither fear Libels, nor ſuſpect Applauſes to be Ironies. *Pliny* ſays juſtly to *Trajan*, 'When I ſpeak of your 'Humanity, Liberality, Frugality, Clemency, Vi-'gilance, &c. I have no Apprehenſion that your Ma-'jeſty will think your ſelf reproached with the con-'trary Vices.' But it was not ſo in ſome preceed-ing Reigns, when Vertue was Dangerous and Truth Capital, and every Book that contained Ei-ther was burnt, and its Author put to Death: By which violent and unjuſt Proceeding, they hoped to ſhut up for ever People's Mouths, to aboliſh the Li-berty of the Senate, and utterly to extinguiſh the Memories of good Men. Not ſatisfied with killing the Authors, they exerciſed their Rage upon their Works, and appointed a Junto called the *Triumviri*, to deſtroy the Fruits of the greateſt Genius's by Fire.

I have ſcarce ever heard of a more groſs or inge-nious Piece of Flattery, than that of *Vitellius* to *Cali-gula*, upon the following Occaſion; That mad Em-

peror

peror had taken it into his Head to be a God, and thought he might debauch ſome of the She-Deities, as well as he had his Siſters; he therefore asks *Vitellius* this Queſtion; *pray, Vitellius* (ſays he) have you never ſeen me embrace the Moon? O Sir, ſays the Paraſite, that is a Myſtery which none but a God, ſuch as your Majeſty, ought to reveal. *Vitellius* was one of thoſe, *quibus principum honeſta atque inhoneſta laudare mos eſt*, who praiſe every Thing their Prince does, whether good or bad: Flattery therefore is never at the height, till Liberty and Virtue are utterly loſt; and with the Loſs of Liberty, Shame and Honour are loſt. *Tacitus*, who never mentions the Woes of his Country, without ſeeming to feel them, talking of *Sejanus*, who having got the whole Adminiſtration into his Hands, was now the chief Idol at *Rome*, ſays with Indignation, 'we 'worſhip'd his manumis'd Slaves, and proſtituted 'our ſelves to his former Footmen, and to be ac-'quainted with his Porter, was a mighty Honour'.

As Flatterers make Tyrants, Tyrants make Flatterers, neither is it poſſible that any Prince could be a Tyrant without them: He muſt have ſervile Hands to execute his Will, and ſervile Mouths to approve it. It was with great Fear that *Nero* order'd the Murder of his Mother, tho' he had wicked Counſellors enough to adviſe and applaud it; and when he had done it, he was thunderſtruck and diſtracted with Apprehenſions of the Conſequences; but finding Flattery from all Hands, inſtead of Reſentment from any, he grew outrageouſly abandoned, and plunged into all Licentiouſneſs and Infamy: Had it not been for Flatterers, the Middle and End of his Reign might have been as good as the Beginning, than which there were ſcarce ever a better.

I have ſaid enough to ſhew the Vileneſs and Miſchief of Flattery; a Vice which has finally ruined many Nations, and many Princes, and one time or other hurt all. Let us be thankful that we are not at the cruel Mercy of Flatterers, and have a Prince who we firmly believe will never be led or perver-

ted

ted by them; we hope he will never have bad Counſel given him, and would reject it, if it were: We know his honeſt Purpoſes, and great Moderation, and confeſs with Gratitude, that during his whole Reign no Outrages have been committed upon the Lives and Fortunes of any of his Subjects; and that the Protection of the Law has been as ſtrong and extenſive as ever it was or ought to be. I could ſay more, but I ſtop here; for the greateſt Honour that can be done a Prince, is to ſuppoſe him above Flattery, and to avoid for his Sake the Appearances of it, when we ſpeak to him or of him.

I am SIR,

Your Humble Servant,

CATO.

To the Author of the London Journal

SIR, *July* 1. 1720.

THE *Love of one's Country*, or *Publick Spirit*, is a Phraſe in every Body's Mouth, but it ſeldom goes deeper; it is talked of without being felt: Some mention it without having any Ideas at all of it, but only as a fine Thing which every Body likes, and a good Quality which one would not ſeem to be without.

Others, when they name it, intend only ſome poor and ſelfiſh Gratification of their own: Thus with great Men it is Wealth and Empire, to do what they liſt, and to get what they can; which is direct *Faction*, or promoting, under Colour of the Publick, thoſe Views which are inconſiſtent with it. Thus with the Trader and Artificer, it is the encouraging that ſort of Art or Ware in which he himſelf deals: And this is Monopoly and Engroſſing, ever miſchievous to the Publick.

In Popiſh Countries, it is Publick Spirit to build and beautify many Churches, at the Expence of the poor

People; who muſt alſo maintain, at a further pence, a long Band of luxurious Eccleſiaſticks, play Tricks in them; or, in other Words, to keep the Heads and Pockets of their deluded Hearers as empty as they can. It is moreover *great Publick Spirit* to adorn an old Skull with Pearl and Diamonds, and to enrich a venerable rotten Tooth with Gold and Emeralds, of a Value ſufficient to maintain a City and all its Inhabitants, who yet perhaps are ſtarved by doing it. It is likewiſe very Publick-ſpirited there, for a Man to ſtarve his Family and his Poſterity, to endow a Monaſtry, and to feed or rather *gorge* a Fraternity of Reverend Gluttons, profeſſed Foes to Truth and Peace, and the Proſperity of the World; Idlers maintained to gormondize and deceive. This, forſooth, is Publick Spirit, to rob the Country of its Hands, to rear up a pernicious and turbulent Mob of Drones, in Principles deſtructive of Liberty, and to bring up Enemies to a Country at it own Charges.

In Arbitrary Countries, it is Publick Spirit to be blind Slaves to the blind Will of the Prince, and to ſlaughter, or be ſlaughtered for him at his Pleaſure: But in Proteſtant free Countries, publick Spirit is another Thing; it is to combat Force and Deluſion; it is to reconcile the true Intereſts of the Governed and Governours; it is to expoſe Impoſtors, and to reſiſt Oppreſſors; and it is to maintain the People in Liberty, Plenty, Eaſe and Security.

This is Publick Spirit; which contains in it every laudable Paſſion, and takes in Parents, Kindred, Friends, Neighbours, and every Thing dear to Mankind; it is the higheſt Virtue, and contains in it almoſt all others; Stedfaſtneſs to good Purpoſes, Fidelity to one's Truſt, Reſolution in Difficulties, Defiance of Danger, Contempt of Death, and impartial Benevolence to all Mankind. It is a Paſſion to promote univerſal Good, with perſonal Pain, Loſs and Peril: It is one Man's Care for Many, and the Concern of every Man for All.

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Conſider this Picture, O ye great Patriots Guardians of the Earth, and try if you reſemble Whom have you exalted for his own Merits, a whom caſt down for the Sake of your Country What Advantages have you acquired to your Nation, with Loſs to your ſelves; and have your People's Loſſes never been your Gains?

Out of *England*, theſe Queſtions cannot well be anſwered; nor could they in *England* formerly.

If my Character of Publick Spirit be thought too Heroick, at leaſt for the *Living Generation*, who are indeed but Babes in that Virtue, I will readily own, that every Man has a Right and a Call to provide for himſelf, to attend upon his own Affairs, and to ſtudy his own Happineſs. All I contend for is, that this Duty of a Man to himſelf be performed ſubſequently to the general Welfare, and conſiſtently with it. The Affairs of All ſhould be minded preferably to the Affairs of One, as every Man is ready to own when his own Particular is embark'd with the Whole; as indeed every Man's will prove to be ſooner or later, tho' for a while ſome may thrive upon the publick Ruins; but their Fate ſeldom fails to meet with them at laſt, them or their *Poſterity*.

It is a favourable Sign of Publick Spirit, tho' not a certain Sign, when the Intereſt and Reputation of Men riſe and encreaſe together; and there is Policy and Wiſdom in it. He who acquires Money in ſpight of Fame, pays dear for his Avarice, while it returns him Hatred and Curſes, as well as *Gold*; and to be rich and deteſted, is to me no pleaſing Character. The ſame holds true in Regard to Ambition, and every other Paſſion, which breaks its Bounds, and makes a Captive of its Owner. It's ſcarce poſſible to be a *Rogue* and be *beloved*; and when Men are arrived at an Inſenſibility of popular Cenſure and Opinion concerning their Honeſty and Diſhoneſty, it is a Sign that they are at a Defiance with the Community where they live, and that the reſt ought to be upon their Guard againſt them;

they

they do as it were cut themſelves off from the Society, and teach the People what to call them.

It is true that great ill Men never fail to have great Court paid to their Fortunes; which Court, their own Self-love always conſtrues to be paid to their Perſons: But there is a Way to undeceive them, and it often happens; let them but ſink into Meanneſs, and they will ſoon find themſelves ſunk into Contempt, which is the End of Hatred when the Object of Hatred diminiſhes.

There is a ſort of Men found almoſt every where, who having got a Set of gainful and favourite Speculations, are always ready to ſpread and enforce them, and call their doing ſo *publick Spirit*, tho' it often turns the World topſy-turvy: Like the mad Monk at *Heidleberg*, who was for knocking every Man on the Head, who did not like *Rheniſh* Wine, which it ſeems was his beloved Liquor; and perhaps he thought it was as reaſonable to make all the World ſwallow *Rheniſh*, as to make them ſwallow *Tranſubſtantiation*.

Opinions, *bare Opinions*, ſignify no more to the World, than do the ſeveral Taſtes of Men; and all Mankind muſt be made of one Complexion, of one Size, and of one Age, before they can be all made of the ſame Mind. Thoſe *Patrons* therefore of *dry Dreams*, who do *Miſchief* to the World to make it *better*, are the *Peſts* and *Diſtreſſers* of Mankind, and ſhut themſelves out from all Pretence to the Love of their Country: Strange Men! They would force all Men into an *abſolute Certainty* about *abſolute Uncertainties* and Contradictions; they would aſcertain Ambiguities, without removing them; and plague and puniſh Men for having *but five Senſes*.

I would aſſert another Propoſition, as true as the laſt, tho' it may ſeem ſtranger; namely, that the taking a Thouſand or Ten Thouſand Pounds a Year, for the Merit of helping to draw a hundred Times as much from the People, *is not publick Spirit*, whatever Uſe may call it; and to graſp at all, and put a whole Country in two or three Pockets, is a ſort of

publick Spirit, which I hope *in God* never to ſee, tho' there have been Nations who have ſorrowfully felt it.

As Liberty can never ſubſiſt without Equality, nor Equality be long preſerved without an *Agrarian* Law, or ſomething like it; ſo when Mens Riches are become immeaſurably or ſurprizingly great, a People who regard their own Security, ought to make a ſtrict Enquiry how they came by them, and oblige 'em to take down their own Size, for fear of terrifying the Community, or maſtering it. In every Country, and under every Government, particular Men may be too rich.

If the *Romans* had well obſerved the *Agrarian Law*, by which the Extent of every Citizen's Eſtate was aſcertained, ſome Citizens could never have riſen ſo high as they did above others, and conſequently one Man would never have been ſet above all the reſt, and have eſtabliſhed, as *Cæſar* did at laſt, a Tyranny in that great and glorious State. I have always thought that an Enquiry into Mens Fortunes, eſpecially *monſtrous Fortunes* rais'd out of the *Publick*, like *Milton's Infernal Palace*, as it were in an Inſtant, was of more Importance to a Nation, than ſome *other Enquiries*, which I have heard of.

But will ſome ſay, is it a *Crime to be rich?* Yes, *certainly* at the *publick Expence*, or to the Danger of the Publick. A Man may be too rich for a Subject; even the Revenues of Kings may be too large. It is one of the Effects of Arbitrary Power, that the Prince has too much, and the People too little; and ſuch Inequality may be the Cauſe too of Arbitrary Power. It is as aſtoniſhing as it is melancholly, to travel through a whole Country, as one may through many in *Europe*, gaſping under endleſs Impoſts, and groaning under Dragoons and Poverty, and all to make a wanton and luxurious Court, filled for the moſt, with the worſt and vileſt of all Men. Good God! What Hard-heartedneſs and Barbarity, to ſtarve perhaps half a Province, to make *a Gay Garden!* And yet ſometimes even this

Groſs

Groſs Wickedneſs is called *Publick Spirit*, becauſe forſooth a few Workmen and Labourers are maintained out of the Bread and the Blood of half a Million.

In thoſe Countries, was the Judgment of the People conſulted, Things would go better: But they are deſpiſed, and eſteemed by their Governours happy enough, if they do not eat Graſs; and having no Repreſentatives, or Share in the Government, they have no Remedy. Such indeed is their Miſery, that their Caſe would be greatly mended, if they could change Conditions with the Beaſts of the Field; for then being deſtin'd to be *eaten*, they would be *better fed*: Such a Misfortune is it to them that their *Governours* are not *Cannibals*! Oh *happy Britain*! may'ſt thou continue ever ſo!

For a Concluſion; As the Preſervation of Property is the Source of National Happineſs, whoever violates Property, or leſſens or endangers it, *Common Senſe* ſays, that he is an *Enemy to his Country*; and *publick Spirit* ſays, he ſhould *feel its Vengeance*. As yet in *England*, we can ſpeak ſuch bold Truths; and we never dread to ſee the Day, when it will be ſafer for one Man to be a Traytor, than for another Man, or for a whole People to call him ſo. Wherever Publick Spirit is found dangerous, ſhe will ſoon be ſeen dead.

I am SIR,

Your Humble Servant,

CATO.

To the Author of the London Journal

SIR, *July* 8. 1721.

LOyalty is a very good Word; but, like moſt others, being wreſted firſt by Deſign, and afterwards by Ignorance and Cuſtom, from its original and virtuous Signification, does now frequently bear a very bad one. In an honeſt Senſe, and indeed in common Senſe, it means no more than the ſquaring our Actions by the Rules of good Laws, and an Attachment to a Conſtitution ſupported by ſuch: And the *French* Word *Loyanté*, comes from another *French* Word, which ſignifies *Law*.

Other Meanings have been ſince father'd upon that Word, ſuch as it abhors. To bear ſtupidly the wild or deliberate ill Acts of a Tyrant, overturning all Law, and to aſſiſt him in it, has been impiouſly called *Loyalty*; tho' it was all the while on the other Side, as it is the very Office and Genius of Loyalty to defend Law, Virtue, and Property, and to pull down as Traytors and Diſloyaliſts, all who aſſault them.

Whoever is lawleſs, is diſloyal; and to boaſt of Loyalty to Diſloyalty, is ſtrange Nonſence; a Paradox firſt invented by ſolemn and pernicious Pedants, whoſe Trade it is to pervert the Uſe of Words, and the Meaning of Things, to abuſe and confound the human Underſtanding, and miſlead the World into Miſery and Darkneſs.

To obey a Prince, who does himſelf obey the Laws, is confeſſed on all Hands to be Loyalty; now from hence, one would naturally think that, by every Rule of Reaſon, it might be inferr'd, that to obey one who obeys no Law, is a Departure from all Loyalty, and an Outrage committed upon it, and that both he who commands, and he who obeys, are Outlaws and Diſloyaliſts: And yet theſe ſame ungodly Pedants ſhall maintain it to your Face, that tho' Loyalty conſiſts in obeying a good Prince,

Prince, yet it alſo conſiſts in the very contrary, and in obeying a wicked Prince; who, tho' he is an Enemy to God, yet he is the Vicegerent of God, and tho' he commits all Wickedneſs, yet he does it by divine Right, and tho' it is a Sin to obey him, yet it is a damnable Sin to reſiſt him; and in ſhort, that all the Inſtruments and Partners of his crying Crimes, are Loyaliſts, and all who defend Law, Virtue, and Mankind againſt ſuch Monſters, are *Rebels*, and aſſuredly damned for preventing or reſiſting Actions which deſerve Damnation: And thus Men become Rebels, by acting vertuouſly againſt the worſt of all Rebels, who are reſtrained by no Conſideration, human or divine.

Was ever ſuch Impudence, Impiety, and Nonſence broached amongſt Pagans? In Truth, they never would have been broach'd amongſt Chriſtians, had not Sanctity been made a Cloak for thoſe, who ſold Godlineſs for Gain, and propagated Impoſture at the Price of all that was vertuous and ſacred.

Diſloyalty is indeed rarely the Crime of Subjects and private Men; and they who charge it moſt upon others, are they who practiſe it moſt themſelves. King *Richard* the Second, and *Edward* the Second, were the greateſt Rebels in *England* in their own Time: And the greateſt Rebel in all *Italy*, is the Pope. Every lawleſs Prince is a Rebel, and the Grand Signior is the greateſt that is or can be in his own Dominions. It is true he is bound by no written Law; but in this very Thing he is a Rebel: No Man ought to be exempt from the Ties of Laws; and the higher any Man is, the more Ties he ought to be under. All Power ought to be ballanced with equal Reſtraints, elſe 'twill certainly grow miſchievous: He who knows no Law, but his own Luſt, ſeldom obſerves any other. Beſides, there are ſuch Things as the eternal Laws of Mercy, Juſtice and Truth, legible by every Man's natural Reaſon, when it is not blinded by Craft; and whoever obſerves not theſe, let him be called by what Name

he

he will, is a Rebel to all the World, and it is Loyalty to all the World to purſue him to Deſtruction.

Brutus, who expell'd the Royal and Rebellious Race of the *Tarquins*, was the moſt loyal Man in *Rome*; and his Sons, who would have reſtor'd them, were the greateſt Rebels in *Rome*: The *Roman* People therefore acted juſtly, when they rewarded the Father with the chief Magiſtracy; and the Father acted juſtly, when he ſacrificed the Traytors of his own Loins to the Liberties and Reſentments of the *Roman* People.

Some play with the Words *Sovereign* and *Subject*, and divert themſelves with the Ridicule of Obedience reſiſting Command: But their Wit and Reaſoning are alike wretched, whether they proceed from Ignorance or Diſhoneſty, as they often do from both; as if the World were to be guided by Sound rather than Senſe in Things eſſential to its Well-being. The higheſt and firſt Sovereignty is in the Laws, of which the Prince has only the Sovereign Execution: In other Words, it is his Office and Duty to ſee the Laws obeyed; an Employment, which implies their Superiority and his own Subjection.

A learned Prince, who knew not much of Government, and practis'd leſs than he knew, did yet own, that a *King is only the chief Servant of the State*. The Law ought to be the Meaſure of his Power and Actions, as much as of any private Man's, and more; as his Example is of greater Influence, and as his Opportunities and Temptations to break them are greater than any private Man's can be: And the only juſt Reaſon that can be aſſigned why thoſe Crimes which are puniſhed with Death in a Subject, have been often committed with Impunity by a Chief Magiſtrate, was, becauſe the Station he was in gave him ſuch Strength, and ſuch a Party, that to have puniſhed him, the Publick Quiet muſt have been risk'd or ſhaken: And as to the inferior great Traitors, the Gain of their Crimes and Partners of their Guilt protected them.

Exalted

Exalted Wickedneſs is the ſafeſt: I could name an *Engliſh* Reign, in which for above Twenty Years together, there ſcarce paſs'd a Week in which the Prince did not venture his Crown, and his Miniſters forfeit their Heads. And yet not one of theſe Forfeitures were exacted: So corrupt and wicked was the Government, and ſo tame and acquieſcing were the People. Indeed the People do in every Country deſerve the beſt Uſage, and in almoſt all meet with the worſt: Their Lot is very hard and unequal: They often pay Millions, not only in their own Wrong, but frequently to ſtrengthen the Hands of their Oppreſſors: And this they generally do without ſo much as a Tumult; and yet for one of them to Coin a Silver Six-pence, is Death and Confiſcation.

Theſe Things are obvious; and yet how little are they conſider'd! It is ſafer for a great Man to rob a Country, than for a poor one to ſteal a Loaf: But the Wages of Villany protect Villains, and Juſtice is only blind where the Object is naked —— But theſe are only Complaints, which we hope we *Britons* will never have Cauſe to make.

We have been formerly ſtunn'd with the big Word *Prerogative* by thoſe who contend for Unlimited Loyalty: Men, who while they reſerve to themſelves a Right to be the moſt turbulent of all Subjects, would make all others the tameſt, and the blindeſt of all Slaves. But what *Prerogative* do they mean? I know no Prerogative in the Crown, which is not at the ſame Time a certain Privilege of the People, for their ſake granted, and for their ſake to be exerted: And where a Prerogative is claimed in oppoſition to the Rights and Intereſts of the People, ſo far *a Tyranny* is claimed; Tyranny being nothing elſe but the Government of one Man, or of a few Men, over many, againſt their Inclination and Intereſt: And where Prerogative is exerciſed more to the Hurt than the Good of the Governed, it is no longer Prerogative, but Violence and Uſurpation; and therefore in *England* ſeveral Prerogatives

have

have from time to time been taken from the Crown, becauſe the Crown had abuſed them.

A certain *Britiſh* King was wont to ſay, that ſo long as he could make Biſhops and Judges, he would have what Law and Goſpel he pleaſed —— An impious and arbitrary Saying, and a bold one coming from a Prince of ſo mean a Spirit, governing a brave and a free People, who were diſgraced by his profuſe and ridiculous Reign, which is one of thoſe that ſtain our Annals. But for all the Abſurdity of his Government, and the Smallneſs of his Soul, he found himſelf able, by the Aſſiſtance of Sycophants, to multiply and entail many Evils upon theſe Kingdoms. It is certain, that he and ſome of his Poſterity found ſuch complaiſant Biſhops and Judges, that the Religion and Politicks of the Court were generally the Religion and Politicks of *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and of *Henry* the VIIth's Chappel: Abſolute Power in the Crown was pleaded and granted in both thoſe ſolemn Places.

So wicked and mercileſs a Thing is Self-Intereſt! Thoſe grave Men, who were by Profeſſion the Guardians of Truth and Law, gave up Both, to keep Preferment, or to acquire it. How little are Men to be truſted, and how little does Religion bind them! They can break the ſtrongeſt Bands, violate the moſt awful Oaths, and commit the moſt horrid, moſt extenſive Treacheries, for the vileſt and moſt uncertain Gratifications. I am therefore ſeldom ſurpriz'd to hear of the moſt aſtoniſhing Things and Events, whether they be publick Depredations and Maſſacres, or private Treacheries and Parricides; having my Mind conſtantly fill'd with Examples that anſwer them, or exceed them, tho' perhaps they are not exactly of the ſame Nature.

It is certain that thoſe Judges, Councellors, and Clergy, who have adjudged a diſpenſing and lawleſs Power to Kings, had, each of them, the Guilt of a Thouſand private Murtherers upon his Head: They, as it were, ſign'd a *dead Warrant* for their Country, and as much as in them lay, made themſelves

the

the Authors of Univerſal Barbarity, Slavery, Infamy, and Wretchedneſs, and of every other Evil and Wickedneſs which is produced by that great Source of all Evil and Wickedneſs, *Arbitrary Power.*

Of this we are ſure, that the leaſt Publick Guilt is greater than the greateſt Private Guilt: Let every Man concern'd in Publick Truſt, every where, conſider this, and examine his own Heart: Every Step a Publick Man takes, every Speech he makes, and every Vote he gives, may affect Millions. Whoever acts in a great Station againſt his Conſcience, might perhaps with more Innocence carry a Dagger, and like old *Muly*, ſtab Twenty Men a Day.

Now were theſe Judges and Councellours abovementioned Loyaliſts? Yes, doubtleſs, if there are ſuch Things as *Loyal Traytors.* For, even ſuppoſing Loyalty center'd wholly in the Perſon of the Prince, than which nothing can be more falſe; yet even here it loſes its Name, ſince it is doing him the higheſt Unkindneſs, as it ſeparates him from his People, and their Hearts from him, and as it tempts him to Evil, loads him with Infamy and Guilt, and leſſens his Security; in truth, ſuch Loyalty is Perfidiouſneſs and Flattery, and has coſt many Princes their Lives and their Kingdoms.

No good Prince will pretend that there is any Loyalty due to him further than he himſelf is loyal to the Law, and obſervant of his People, *the Makers of Kings and of Laws.* If any Man, miſled by Sound and Deluſion, doubts this, let him conſider what is the Deſign of Magiſtracy, and what the Duty of Magiſtrates; and if he has Reaſon in him, he will find that his Duty is only due to thoſe who perform theirs; that Protection and Allegiance are reciprocal; that every Man has a Right to defend what no Man has a Right to take: That the Divine Right of Kings, if they had it, can only warrant them in doing Actions that are Divine, and cannot protect them in Cruelty, Depredation and Oppreſſion: That a Divine Right to act wickedly, is a

Contradiction and Blaſphemy, as it is *Maledictio Supremi Numinis*, a Reproach upon the Deity, as if he gave any Man a Commiſſion to be a Devil: That a King, in compariſon with the Univerſe, is not ſo much as a Mayor of a Town, in compariſon with a Kingdom; and that was Mr. Mayor called *King*, it would give him no new Right; or, if a King was only called Mr. Mayor, it would not leſſen nor abrogate his old Juriſdiction: That they are both Civil Officers, and that an Offence in the Leſſer is more pardonable than an Offence in the Greater: That the Doctrines of unbroken hereditary Right, and of blind Obedience, are the Flights and Forgeries of Flatterers, who bely Heaven, and abuſe Men, to make their own Court to Power, and that not one of them will ſtand the Tryal himſelf; and in fine, that Government, honeſt and legal Government, is *Imperium Legum non Hominum*, the Authority of Law and not of Luſt.

Theſe are the Principles upon which our Government ſtands, and the Principles upon which every free Government muſt ſtand; and that we *Britons* dare tell ſuch Truths, and publiſh ſuch Principles, is a glorious Proof of our Civil and Religious Freedom: They are *Truths*, which every *Briton* ought to know, even Children and Servants: They are *eternal Truths*, that will remain for ever, tho' in too many Countries they are dangerous or uſeleſs, or little known: They are *Truths*, to which we are beholden for the preſent Succeſſion, and the preſent mild Adminiſtration; and they are the Principles of *Engliſh* Loyalty, as well as of *Engliſh* Liberty.

Before I have done, I would take Notice of another Miſtake very common, concerning Loyalty; It is indeed a Trick more than a Miſtake; I mean of thoſe who would aſſert, or rather create a ſort of Loyalty to Miniſters, and make every Thing which they do not like, an Offence againſt their Maſter.

How endleſs are the Arts and Inſtances of Deceiving! And yet the ſtaleſt Artifices are ſtill new. The Above is a Method which bad Miniſters have ever

ever taken, but which good ones want not: Innocent Miniſters will never proſtitute the Name and Authority of the Prince to protect their own Faults and Miſtakes; and every wiſe and indifferent Man will be for preſerving him from the Imputation of the Guilt and Folly of his Servants, who, whenever they are for thruſting in their Maſter between themſelves and the Cenſure or Odium of their own Actions, do at once acknowledge that their own Actions are evil, and that they would barbarouſly and ungratefully make a Screen of their Sovereign, and ſave themſelves upon his Ruin or Diſgrace.

What can be more vile, what more diſloyal than this! And yet who were louder in their *Prate* about Loyalty, than the worſt Miniſters have ever been; even while they were weakning their Maſter's Hands, creating him Enemies, and ſetting him at Variance with his People. This is ſo true, that it has been ſometimes impoſſible to love the Prince without abhorring his Servants, and to ſerve them without hurting or abuſing him. And yet while they were very loyally undoing him, it was forſooth high Diſloyalty to reſiſt or expoſe them.——Whoever would recollect Inſtances of this, need not go out of *Europe*, nor above Forty Years backwards: And for Inſtances at Home, as we can find no preſent ones, we fear none that are future.

I am SIR,

Your Humble Servant,

CATO.

To the Author of the London Journal

SIR, *July* 15. 1721.

THE Following are the Sentiments of Mr. *Sydney*: I know 'tis objected that he is a Republican; and 'tis diſhoneſtly ſuggeſted that I am a Republican, becauſe I commend him as an excellent Writer, and have taken a Paſſage or two out of him. In anſwer to this, I ſhall only take Notice, that the Paſſages I take from him are not Republican Paſſages, unleſs Vertue and Truth are Republican: That Mr. *Sydney's* Book, for the main of it, is eternally true and agreeable to our own Conſtitution, which is the beſt Republick in the World, with a Prince at the Head of it: That our Government is a thouſand Degrees nearer a-kin to a Commonwealth, (any ſort of Commonwealth now ſubſiſting, or that ever did ſubſiſt in the World) than it is to abſolute Monarchy: That for my ſelf, I hope in God, never to ſee any other Form of Government in *England*, than that which is now in *England*; and that if this be the Stile and Spirit of a Republican, I glory in it, as much as I deſpiſe thoſe who take baſe Methods to decry my Writings, which are addreſſed to the common Senſe and Experience of Mankind. I hope it is not yet made Hereſy in Politicks, to aſſert that Two and Two make Four.

'The good Magiſtrate ſeeks the Good of the Peo-
'ple committed to his Care, that he may perform
'the End of his Inſtitution; and knowing That
'chiefly to conſiſt in Juſtice and Vertue, he endea-
'vours to plant and propagate them; and by doing
'this, he procures his own Good, as well as that of
'the Publick. He knows there is no Safety where
'there is no Strength, no Strength without Union,
'no Union without Juſtice, no Juſtice where Faith
'and Truth in accompliſhing publick and private En-
'gagements, is wanting. This he perpetually incul-
'cates; and thinks it a great Part of his Duty, by

Precept

Precept and Example, to educate the Youth in a love of Vertue and Truth, that they may be ſeaſoned with them, and filled with an Abhorrence of Vice and Falſhood, before they attain that Age which is expoſed to the moſt violent Temptations, and in which they may by their Crimes bring the greateſt Miſchiefs upon the Publick. He would do all this, tho' it were to his own Prejudice. But as good Actions always carry a Reward with them, theſe contribute in a high Meaſure to his Advantage. By preferring the Intereſt of the People before his own, he gains their Affection, and all that is in their Power comes with it; while he unites them to one another, he unites all to himſelf: In leading them to Vertue, he encreaſes their Strength, and by that Means provides for his own Safety, Glory, and Power.

'On the other Side, ſuch as ſeek different Ends muſt take different Ways. When a Magiſtrate fancies he is not made for the People, but the People for him; that he does not govern for Them, but for Himſelf; that the People live only to encreaſe his Glory, or to furniſh Matter for his Pleaſure, he does not enquire what he may do for them, but what he may draw from them: By this Means he ſets up an Intereſt of Profit, Pleaſure or Pomp in himſelf, repugnant to the Good of the Publick, for which he is made to be what he is. Theſe contrary Ends certainly divide the Nation into Parties; and while every one endeavours to advance that to which he is addicted, Occaſions of Hatred, for Injuries every Day done, or thought to be done, and received, muſt neceſſarily ariſe. This creates a moſt fierce and irreconcilable Enmity, becauſe the Occaſions are frequent, important and univerſal, and the Cauſes thought to be moſt juſt. The People think it the greateſt of all Crimes to convert that Power to their Hurt, which was inſtituted for their Good; and that the Injuſtice is aggravated by Perjury and Ingratitude, which comprehend all Manner of Ill; and the Magiſtrate

gives

'gives the Name of Sedition and Rebellion to what-
'ſoever they do for the Preſervation of themſelves
'and their own Rights. When Men's Spirits are
'thus prepared, a ſmall Matter ſets them on Fire;
'but if no Accident happens to blow them into a
'Flame, the Courſe of Juſtice is certainly interrupt-
'ed, the publick Affairs are neglected; and when
'any Occaſion, whether Foreign or Domeſtick, a-
'riſes, in which the Magiſtrate ſtands in need of
'the People's Aſſiſtance, they whoſe Affections are
'alienated, not only ſhew an Unwillingneſs to ſerve
'him with their Perſons and Eſtates, but fear that
'by delivering him from his Diſtreſs they ſtrengthen
'their Enemy, and enable him to oppreſs them:
'And He, fancying his Will to be unjuſtly oppos'd,
'or his Due more unjuſtly denyed, is fill'd with a
'Diſlike of what he ſees, and a Fear of worſe for
'the future. Whilſt he endeavours to eaſe himſelf
'of the one, and to provide againſt the other, he
'uſually encreaſes the Evils of both; and Jealouſies
'are on both Sides multiply'd. Every Man knows
'that the Governed are in a great Meaſure under
'the Power of the Governour; but as no Man or
'number of Men is willingly ſubject to thoſe that
'ſeek their Ruin, ſuch as fall into ſo great a Miſ-
'fortune, continue no longer under it, than Force,
'Fear or Neceſſity may be able to oblige them.
'But ſuch a Neceſſity can hardly lie longer upon a
'great People, than till the Evil be fully diſcover-
'ed and comprehended, and their Vertue, Strength
'and Power be united to expel it; the ill Magiſtrate
'looks upon all Things that may conduce to that
'End, as ſo many Preparatives to his Ruin; and
'by the Help of thoſe who are of his Party, will
'endeavour to prevent that Union, and diminiſh that
'Strength, Vertue, Power and Courage, which he
'knows to be bent againſt him. And as Truth,
'faithful Dealing, and Integrity of Manners, are
'Bonds of Union, and Helps to Good, he will al-
'ways, by Tricks, Artifices, Cavils, and all Means
'poſſible, endeavour to eſtabliſh Falſhood and Diſho-

neſty

neſty; whilſt other Emiſſaries and Inſtruments of Iniquity, by corrupting the Youth, and ſuch as can be brought to Leudneſs and Debauchery, bring the People to ſuch a paſs, that they may neither care nor dare to vindicate their Rights; and that thoſe who would do it may ſo far ſuſpect each other, as not to confer upon, much leſs to join in, any Action tending to the publick Deliverance.

'This diſtinguiſhes the good from the bad Magiſtrate, the Faithful from the Unfaithful; and thoſe that adhere to either, living in the ſame Principle, muſt walk in the ſame Ways. They who uphold the rightful Power of a juſt Magiſtracy, encourage Vertue and Juſtice, and teach Men what they ought to do, ſuffer, or expect from others; they fix them upon Principles of Honeſty, and generally advance every Thing that tends to the Encreaſe of the Valour, Strength, Greatneſs, and Happineſs of the Nation, creating a good Union among them, and bringing every Man to an exact Underſtanding of his own, and the publick Rights. On the other ſide, he that would introduce an ill Magiſtrate, makes one evil who was good, or preſerves him in the Adminiſtration of Injuſtice when he is corrupted, muſt always open the Way for him, by vitiating the People, corrupting their Manners, deſtroying the Validity of Oaths, teaching ſuch Evaſions, Equivocations, and Frauds, as are inconſiſtent with the Thoughts that become Men of Vertue and Courage; and overthrowing the Confidence they ought to have in each other, make it impoſſible for them to unite amongſt themſelves. The like Arts muſt be us'd with the Magiſtrate: He cannot be for their Turns, till he is perſwaded to believe he has no Dependence upon, and owes no Duty to the People; that he is *of* himſelf, and not by *their* Inſtitution; that no Man ought to enquire into, nor be Judge of his Actions; that all Obedience is due to him, whether he be good or bad, wiſe or fooliſh, a Father or an Enemy to his Country. This being calculated for his perſonal

'ſonal Intereſt, he muſt purſue the ſame Deſigns
'or his Kingdom is divided within it ſelf, and can-
'not ſubſiſt. By this Means, thoſe who flatter his
'Humour, come to be accounted his Friends, and
'the only Men that are thought worthy of great
'Truſts, whilſt ſuch as are of another Mind are ex-
'poſ'd to all Perſecution. Theſe are always ſuch
'as excel in Vertue, Wiſdom, and Greatneſs of
'Spirit: They have Eyes, and they will always
'ſee the Way they go; and leaving Fools to be
'guided by implicit Faith, will diſtinguiſh between
'Good and Evil, and chuſe that which is beſt;
'they will judge of Men by their Actions, and by
'them diſcovering whoſe Servant every Man is,
'know whether he is to be obey'd or not. Thoſe
'who are ignorant of all Good, careleſs, or Ene-
'mies to it, take a more compendious Way: Their
'ſlaviſh, vitious and baſe Natures inclining them to
'ſeek only private and preſent Advantage, they eaſi-
'ly ſlide into a blind Dependence upon one who
'has Wealth and Power; and deſiring only to know
'his Will, care not what Injuſtice they do, if they
'may be rewarded. They worſhip what they find
'in the Temple, tho' it be the vileſt of Idols; and
'always like that beſt which is worſt, becauſe it
'agrees with their Inclinations and Principles.
'When a Party comes to be erected upon ſuch a
'Foundation, Debauchery, Lewdneſs, and Diſho-
'neſty are the true Badges of it; ſuch as wear
'them are cheriſhed; but the principal Marks of
'Favour are reſerv'd for them who are the moſt in-
'duſtrious in Miſchief, either by ſeducing the Peo-
'ple with the Allurements of ſenſual Pleaſures, or
'corrupting their Underſtandings with falſe and ſla-
'viſh Doctrines.

I am, SIR,

Your humble Servant,

CATO

T

To the Author of the London Journal.

SIR, *July* 22. 1721.

THE World has, from Time to Time, been led into ſuch a long Maze of Miſtakes, by thoſe who gain'd by deceiving, That whoever would inſtruct Mankind, muſt begin with removing their Errors; and if they were every where honeſtly appriz'd of Truth, and reſtor'd to their Senſes, there would not remain one Nation of Bigots or Slaves under the Sun: A Happineſs always to be wiſhed, but never expected.

In moſt Parts of the Earth, there is neither Light nor Liberty; and even in the beſt Parts of it, they are but little encourag'd and coldly maintain'd, there being, in all Places, many engag'd through Intereſt in a perpetual Conſpiracy againſt them. They are the two greateſt Civil Bleſſings, inſeparable in their Intereſts, and the mutual Support of each other; and whoever would deſtroy one of them, muſt deſtroy both: Hence it is that we every where find Tyranny and Impoſture, Ignorance and Slavery joined together, and Oppreſſors and Deceivers mutually aiding and paying conſtant Court to each other. Wherever Truth is dangerous, Liberty is precarious.

Of all the Sciences that I know in the World, that of Government concerns us moſt, and is the eaſieſt to be known, and yet is the leaſt underſtood. Moſt of thoſe who manage it, would make the lower World believe that there is I know not what Difficulty and Myſtery in it, far above vulgar Underſtandings; which Proceedings of theirs is direct Craft and Impoſture: Every Ploughman knows a good Government from a bad, from the Effects of it; he knows whether the Fruits of his Labour are his own, and whether he enjoys them in Peace and Security: And if he does not know the Principles of Government, it is for want of Thinking and Enquiry, for they lie open to common Senſe; but People are ge-

herally taught not to think of them at all, or to think wrong of them.

What is Government, but a Truſt committed by All, or the Moſt, to One or a Few, who are to attend upon the Affairs of All, that every one may, with the more Security, attend upon his own? A great and honourable Truſt, but too ſeldom honourably executed; thoſe who poſſeſs it having it often more at Heart to encreaſe their Power than to make it uſeful, and to be terrible rather than benificent. It is therefore a Truſt which ought to be bounded with many and ſtrong Reſtraints, becauſe Power renders Men wanton, inſolent to others, and fond of themſelves. Every Violation therefore of this Truſt, where ſuch Violation is conſiderable, ought to meet with proportionable Puniſhment; and the ſmalleſt Violation of it ought to meet with ſome, becauſe Indulgence to the leaſt Faults of Magiſtrates, may be Cruelty to a Whole People.

Honeſty, Diligence, and plain Senſe, are the only Talents neceſſary for the executing of this Truſt, and the publick Good is its only End: As to Refinements and Fineneſſes, they are often only the falſe Appearances of Wiſdom and Parts, and oftner Tricks to hide Guilt and Emptineſs; and they are generally mean and diſhoneſt; they are the Arts of Jobbers in Politicks, who playing their own Game under the publick Cover, ſubſiſt upon poor Shifts and Expedients; ſtarv'd Politicians, who live from Hand to Mouth, and from Day to Day, and following the little Views of Ambition, Avarice and Revenge, and the like perſonal Paſſions, are aſham'd to avow them, and yet want Souls great enough to forſake them; ſmall wicked Stateſmen, who make a private Market of the Publick, and deceive it in order to ſell it.

Theſe are the poor Parts which great and good Governours ſcorn to play, and cannot play; their Deſigns, like their Stations, being purely Publick, are open and undiſguiſed. They do not conſider their People as their Prey, nor lie in Ambuſh for their

their Subjects; nor dread, and treat and ſurprize them like Enemies, as all ill Magiſtrates do; who are not Governours but Jaylors and Spunges, who chain them and ſqueeze them, and yet take it very ill if they do but murmur, which yet is much leſs than a People ſo abus'd ought to do. There have been Times and Countries, when publick Miniſters and publick Enemies have been the ſame individual Men. What a melancholly Reflection is this, that the moſt terrible and miſchievous Foes to a Nation ſhould be its own Magiſtrates! And yet in every enſlaved Country, which is almoſt every Country, this is their woful Caſe.

Honeſty and Plainneſs go always together, and the Makers and Multipliers of Myſteries, in the political Way, are ſhrewdly to be ſuſpected of dark Deſigns. *Cincinnatus* was taken from the Plough to ſave and defend the *Roman* State; an Office which he executed honeſtly and ſucceſsfully, without the Grimace and Gains of a Stateſman: Nor did he afterwards continue obſtinately at the Head of Affairs, to form a Party, raiſe a Fortune, and ſettle himſelf in Power: As he came into it with univerſal Conſent, he reſign'd it with univerſal Applauſe.

It ſeems Government was not in thoſe Days become a Trade, at leaſt a gainful Trade. — Honeſt *Cincinnatus* was but a Farmer: And happy had it been for the *Romans*, if, when they were enſlaved, they could have taken the Adminiſtration out of the Hands of the Emperors, and their refin'd Politicians, and committed them to ſuch Farmers, or any Farmers. It is certain, that many of their Imperial Governours acted more ridiculouſly than a Board of Ploughmen would have done, and more barbarouſly than a Club of Butchers could have done.

But ſome have ſaid, *It is not the Buſineſs of private Men to meddle with Government.* A bold, falſe, and diſhoneſt Saying; and whoever ſays it, either knows not what he ſays, or cares not, or ſlaviſhly ſpeaks the Senſe of others. It is a *Cant* now almoſt forgot in *England*, and which never prevail'd but when Li-

berty and the Conſtitution were attack'd, and never can prevail but upon the like Occaſion.

It is a Vexation to be oblig'd to anſwer Nonſenſe, and confute Abſurdities: But ſince it is and has been the great Deſign of this Paper to maintain and explain the glorious Principles of Liberty, and to expoſe the Arts of thoſe who would darken or deſtroy them; I ſhall here particularly ſhew the Wickedneſs and Stupidity of the above Saying; which is fit to come from no Mouth but that of a Tyrant, or a Slave, and can never be heard by any Man of an honeſt and free Soul, without Horrour and Indignation: It is in ſhort a Saying, which ought to render the Man who utters it for ever incapable of Place or Credit in a free Country, as it ſhews the Malignity of his Heart, and the Baſeneſs of his Nature, and as it is the pronouncing of a Doom upon our Conſtitution.—— A Crime, or rather a Complication of Crimes, for which a laſting Infamy ought to be but part of the Puniſhment.

But to the Falſhood of the Thing: Publick Truths ought never to be kept Secrets; and they who do it, are guilty of a Solæciſm and a Contradiction: Every Man ought to know what it concerns all to know: Now, nothing upon Earth is of a more Univerſal Nature than Government; and every private Man upon Earth has a Concern in it, becauſe in it is concern'd, and nearly and immediately concern'd, his Virtue, his Property, and the Security of his Perſon: And where all theſe are beſt preſerv'd and advanced, the Government is beſt adminiſter'd; and where they are not, the Government is impotent, wicked, or unfortunate; and where the Government is ſo, the People will be ſo, there being always and every where a certain Sympathy and Analogy between the Nature of the Government and the Nature of the People. This holds true in every Inſtance. Publick Men are the Patterns of Private; and the Virtues and Vices of the Governours become quickly the Virtues and Vices of the Governed.

Regis ad Exemplum totus componitur Orbis.

Nor

Nor is it Example alone that does it. Ill Governments, ſubſiſting by Vice and Rapine, are jealous of private Vertue, and Enemies to private Property. *Opes pro Crimene; & ob Vertutes certiſſimum Exitium.* They muſt be wicked and miſchievous to be what they are; nor are they ſecure while any Thing good or valuable is ſecure; hence it is that to drain, worry and debauch their Subjects, are the ſteddy Maxims of their Politicks, and their favourite Arts of Reigning. In this wretched Situation, the People, to be ſafe, muſt be poor and lewd: There will be but little Induſtry, where Property is precarious; and ſmall Honeſty, where Vertue is dangerous.

Profuſeneſs or Frugality, and the like Vertues or Vices, which affect the Publick, will be practiſed in the City, if they are in the Court; and in the Country, if they are in the City. Even *Nero* (that Royal Monſter in Man's Shape) was adored by the common Herd at *Rome*, as much as he was flatter'd by the Great; and both the Little and the Great admir'd or pretended to admire his Manners, and many to imitate them. *Tacitus* tells us, that thoſe ſort of People long lamented him, and rejoiced in the Choice of a Succeſſor that reſembled him, the profligate *Otho*.

Good Government does, on the contrary, produce great Vertue, much Happineſs, and many People. *Greece* and *Italy*, while they continued free, were each of them, for the Number of Inhabitants, like one continued City; and for Vertue, Knowledge and great Men, they were the Standards of the World; and that Age and Country that could come neareſt to them, has ever ſince been reckoned the happieſt: Their Government, their Free Government, was the Root of all theſe Advantages, and of all this Felicity and Renown; and in theſe great and fortunate States, the People were the Principals in the Government; and Laws were made by their Judgment and Authority, and by their Voice and Commands were Magiſtrates created and condemned,

ned. The City of *Rome* could conquer the World; nor could the great *Perſian* Monarch, the greateſt then upon Earth, ſtand before the Face of one *Greek* City.

But what are *Greece* and *Italy* now? *Rome* has in it a Herd of pamper'd *Monks*, and a few ſtarving Lay Inhabitants; and the *Campania* of *Rome*, the fineſt Spot of Earth in *Europe*, is a Deſart. And for the modern *Greeks*, they are a few abject contemptible Slaves, kept under Ignorance, Chains, and Vileneſs by the *Turkiſh* Monarch, who keeps a great Part of the Globe intenſely miſerable, that he may ſeem Great without being ſo.

Such is the Difference between one Government and another, and of ſuch important Concernment is the Nature and Adminiſtration of Government to a People. And to ſay that private Men have nothing to do with Government, is to ſay that private Men have nothing to do with their own Happineſs and Miſery.

What is the Publick, but the collective Body of private Men, as every private Man is a Member of the Publick? And as the Whole ought to be concerned for the Preſervation of every private Individual, it is the Duty of every Individual to be concern'd for the Whole, in which himſelf is included.

One Man, or a few Men, have often pretended the Publick, and meant themſelves, and conſulted their own perſonal Intereſt, in Inſtances eſſential to its Well-being; but the whole People, by conſulting their own Intereſt, conſult the Publick, and act for the Publick by acting for themſelves; and this is particularly the Spirit of our Conſtitution, in which the whole Nation is repreſented; and our Records afford Inſtances, where the Houſe of Commons have declin'd entering upon a Queſtion of Importance, till they had gone into the Country, and conſulted their Principals, *the People*: So far were they from thinking that private Men had no Right to meddle with Government. In Truth, our whole worldly Happineſs and Miſery (abating for Accidents and Diſeaſes)

Diſeaſes) are owing to the Order and Miſmanagement of Government; and he who ſays, private Men have no Concern with Government, does wiſely and modeſtly tell us, that Men have no Concern in that which concerns them moſt; it is ſaying that People ought not to concern themſelves whether they be naked or clothed, fed or ſtarved, are deceived or inſtructed, and whether they are protected or deſtroyed: What Nonſenſe and Servitude in a free and wiſe Nation!

For my ſelf, who have thought pretty much of theſe Matters, I am of Opinion, that a whole Nation are like to be as much attached to themſelves, as one Man or a few Men are like to be, who may by many Means be detached from the Intereſt of a Nation. It is certain that one Man, and ſeveral Men, may be bribed into an Intereſt oppoſite to that of the Publick; but it is as certain that a whole Country can never find an Equivalent for it ſelf, and conſequently a whole Country can never be bribed. It is the eternal Intereſt of every Nation, that their Government ſhould be good; but they who direct it, do frequently reaſon a contrary Way, and find their own Account in *Plunder* and *Oppreſſion*; and while the publick Voice is pretended to be declared, by one or a few, for vile and private Ends, the Publick know nothing what is done, till they feel the terrible Effects of it.

By the Bill of Rights, and the Act of Settlement at the *Revolution*, a Right is aſſerted to the People of applying to the King and to the Parliament by Petition and Addreſs, for a Redreſs of publick Grievances and Miſmanagements, when ſuch there are, of which They are left to judge: And the Difference between free and enſlaved Countries lies principally here, that in the former, their Magiſtrates muſt conſult the Voice and Intereſt of the People; but in the latter, the private Will, Intereſt, and Pleaſure of the Governours, are the ſole End and Motives of their Adminiſtration.

Such

Such is the Difference between *England* and *Turkey*: which Difference, they who say that private Men have no Right to concern themselves with Governments, would absolutely destroy; they would convert Magistrates into Bashaws, and introduce Popery into Politicks. The late *Revolution* stands upon the very opposite Maxim; and that any Man dares to contradict it since the *Revolution*, would be amazing, did we not know that there are in every Country, Hirelings who would betray it for a Sop.

I am, *SIR*,

Your Humble Servant,

CATO.

Just Publish'd, from a Correct Copy of the SECRET COMMITTEE's,

THE Several Reports of the Committee of Secrecy to the Honourable House of Commons compleat, relating to the late *South-Sea* Directors, their Aiders and Abettors.

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